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IN MEMORY OF
MARIA J. VAN BRUNT JONES

A STUDY OF

THE PROLOGUE AND EPILOGUE IN ENGLISH LITERATURE

FROM SHAKESPEARE TO DRYDEN

Bower, George Spencer

A STUDY

OF THE

PROLOGUE AND EPILOGUE

IN ENGLISH LITERATURE

FROM SHAKESPEARE TO DRYDEN

BY

G. S. B.

LONDON

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH & CO., 1, PATERNOSTER SQUARE

1884

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PREFACE.

THIS little volume contains the substance (considerably enlarged and carefully revised) of five articles contributed to a monthly periodical. Though the outcome of vacation moments, it will, I hope, be found to represent a thorough investigation of the subject, so far as it extends. I shall be well pleased, if the facts collected and opinions arrived at during my excursion through a not uninteresting by-way of literature should hereafter prove useful to writers undertaking more ambitious researches into the wider domains of dramatic or social history, and still more if they should succeed in affording occasional entertainment to the general reader.

G. S. B.

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A STUDY OF THE

PROLOGUE AND EPILOGUE

IN ENGLISH LITERATURE

FROM SHAKESPEARE TO DRYDEN.

CHAPTER I.

The origin of, and the literary form assumed by, the English prologue and epilogue—Their function in the earliest English plays—Their relation to the Induction, the Chorus, and the Dumb Show—The prologue-speaker—His properties—The first woman-prologue—The prodialogue and the epidialogue—Sensational prologues and epilogues—Joe Haines—Nell Gwynne—Prologue-writers—The price of a prologue.

OF all the manifold shapes which the literature of our country has at different times assumed, none has furnished a greater quantity of illustrative matter for the use of the historian in so small a compass as the Prologue, with its twin brother, the Epilogue. Political and social information, records of our theatres, personal and biographical details in the lives of our dramatists and actors, the state of criticism at different periods, the

tastes and humours of successive ages and audiences, and the theories of literary workmanship advanced by different authors, are reflected in, or may be extracted from, these precocious and loquacious infants of letters. Thus M. de Grisy, in the Preface to his very pleasant *Histoire de la Comédie Anglaise au* 17*me. Siècle*, writes: "Les prologues et les épilogues qui ouvrent et ferment presque toutes ces comédies nous ont, non moins que les dédicaces, fourni des précieux détails sur les auteurs et sur leur époque. De ces détails nous avons relevé les plus expressifs, et demandé au poëte lui-même les secrets de son art, ou les confidences de sa pensée." (p. viii.)

In respect of outward form, the Prologue has been a very Proteus. In the early ages of the drama, it had no independent existence. The Greek "πρόλογος" was merely all that portion of the play preceding the first entrance of the Chorus, which latter discharged then most of the functions of the earliest English prologues, in giving, from time to time, a sort of running explanation of the development of the plot, accompanied by such moral reflections and criticisms on the motives of the *dramatis personæ* as an intelligent outsider might be supposed likely to deliver. The later sort of English Prologue, in which the characteristic element was criticism of anything and everything, anybody and everybody,—and wherein the poet was commended, his rivals abused, the critics threatened, and even the audiences contemptuously addressed,—finds its nearest Greek analogue in the παράβασις spoken by the Chorus

of the Old Comedy,—not, however, at the commencement, but in the middle of the play. By the time of Euripides, the opening speech of the actor discovered at the rise, or rather the fall, of the curtain (for the curtain was not then, as now, rolled upward, but sank beneath the stage), though ostensibly part of the drama itself, was for all practical purposes a prologue in the Shakespearian sense. The stage Hecuba, Heracles, Aphrodite, or whoever it might be, explained, in an elaborate speech, how he came to the scene of operations, what was his mission, and how he was related to the other characters in the play. But it was not till the time of Plautus and Terence that the Prologue was formally divorced from the body of the drama, and that an independent address of the poet to the audience preceded the action of the play itself.

In the earliest period of our theatrical history, these expository duties were shared between the Induction, the Prologue, and the Chorus.* Both the one and the

* The use of the Induction is to be found in Marston and Webster's *Malcontent*, and in Greene's *Alphonsus, King of Arragon*, the interlocutors in which are Venus, Melpomene, Erato, and Calliope. The Induction very often included a Dumb Show, or a species of Charade, in which the plot of the play is described by action without words, apparently to stimulate the wits of the audience, and excite their expectations, before the real business of the drama begins. In these Dumb Shows were made those "damnable faces," which Hamlet was so anxious to have done with in the play-scene, and to proceed to the delivery of the words which were to "catch the conscience of the King" more effectually. Sometimes a "Presenter" is named in the stage directions and required in a speech or speeches written for him to explain the Dumb Show to the audience. Thus in George Peele's *Battle of Alcazar*, the first act opens thus: "Act I. Enter the Presenter,"—who is then bidden to introduce the first Dumb Show in an address of some twenty lines. After this Dumb Show

other of the two latter were brought in to supply or assist the argument, when the Induction was falling into disuse. Their double employment is best exemplified in the well-known play-scene in *Hamlet*. When the Prologue enters, "We shall know by this fellow," says Hamlet, "the players cannot keep counsel: *they'll tell all;*" but when the Prince explains to Ophelia the relationship to the King of Lucianus (on his first entrance), she replies, "You are as good as a chorus, my lord." Here, then, we have the Chorus mentioned as well as the Prologue, and we know that the former was employed by Shakespeare himself in his *Henry V.*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and other plays. A chorus is given to each act of *Henry V.* *Gower* (curiously) takes upon himself the office of a Chorus in *Pericles* in Acts i., iii., v., besides concluding the play. So in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, by Beaumont and Fletcher, a citizen and his wife act as a quaint Chorus at the end of each act, commending their boy Ralph for his acting of his part in the play, which they are imagined to have witnessed as spectators. In the old play of *David and Bathsheba* (see Hawkins's *Origin of the*

and some more lines from the Presenter, we are provided with a second Dumb Show, and another twenty-line speech from the Presenter, who concludes by announcing the title of the play—"and call this war the Battle of Alcazar." Nor have we done with Mr. Presenter yet. This somewhat obtrusive person is required to open the second act; the stage directions there being—"Alarum, and then the Presenter speaketh," but he is this time contented with eight lines, and the introduction to the stage of "three ghosts, crying, *Vindicta.*" After the ghosts have cried *Vindicta* long enough, the Presenter has one more chance, and makes the most of it, speaking some forty lines, and then making his final exit.

English Drama, vol. ii., pp. 148, 182) we have a chorus *co nomine*, while in *The Spanish Tragedy* (supposed to be by Kyd), the Ghost of Andria, Revenge, and the Chorus are on the stage together, and between them discharge the duties both of Prologue and Chorus, besides assisting and developing the action of the play. In *Ferrex and Porrex* the procedure is very methodical. There is a Dumb Show before, and a Chorus after each act. It will be observed that at this period the name of Prologue was given to the person who spoke the introductory lines, not to the lines themselves, as now. This was also the case in the Roman drama. From Dryden's time both prologues and epilogues have been usually written in heroic couplets, though exceptions are to be met with, notably in the case of Dryden himself, who occasionally affected ten-syllable triplets, which could hardly have been an improvement, one would imagine, for purposes of recitation. In more modern days, prose has not been unknown; and in the times of, and preceding, Shakespeare, it was very common. Thus the curious prologue (playing on the word "suppose") prefixed to George Gascoigne's play of *Supposes* (a translation from Ariosto's *Gli Suppositi*, on which Shakespeare is believed to have founded his *Taming of the Shrew*), is written in plain prose; so also is that to *Every Woman in her Humour* (1609), to Heywood's *Four 'Prentices of London* (1615), and many others; while the epilogue to *As You Like It* and *Henry IV. Part II.*, are also in prose. On the other hand, the epilogue to *Wily Beguiled* (1606) is in blank verse;

and the prologue is a curious medley of prose dialogue between one of the players, a juggler, and the Prologue (in the old sense of the term), in which the last-named is eventually left in possession of the stage, and delivers an address beginning in prose, continuing in rhymed couplets, and ending in a sort of ballad metre after this fashion :

> " Let Momus' mates judge how they list,
> We fear not what they babble ;
> Nor any paltry poet's pen,
> Amongst that rascal rabble.
> But time forbids me further speech,
> My tongue must stop her race ;
> My time is come, I must be dumb,
> And give the actors place." *

Similarly the epilogue to *Eastward Hoe* begins in prose, and ends with four alternately rhyming lines. Ben Jonson adopted some novel, but scarcely beautiful metres, in some of his prologues. That prefixed to *The Fox* begins :

> " Now luck yet send us, and a little wit
> Will serve to make our play hit :
> (According to the palates of the season,)
> Here is rhyme not empty of reason."

While the epilogue to *The Silent Woman* ends with the following quaint arrangement of rhymes :

> " Nor is it, only, while you keep your seat
> Here, that his feast will last ; but you shall eat

* This introduction of the actors, with which the prologue is concluded was not uncommon. Cf. the end of the prologue to George Peele's *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes :*

> " Well, what he hath done for your delight he gave not me in charge ;
> The actors come who shall express the same to you at large."

A week at ordinaries, on his broken meat,
If his muse be true,
Who commends her to you."

In the epilogue to *The Tempest* we have seven-syllable lines, eight-syllable lines in the prologue and epilogue to *Ram Alley* or *Merry Tricks*, fourteen-syllable lines in the prologue referred to in the note at the foot of the page, while Bottom, in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, doubts between a prologue "in eight and six" and one in "eight and eight."

The Epilogue was probably a development partly of the old Greek γνώμη, or moral reflection, with which the Chorus concluded the play, and partly of the "vos plaudite" of the Roman comedians. The features of these two parents can be traced in most English epilogues. In those which refer back to the action of the drama, and tend to justify its issue; in those "merry epilogues to tragedies" which, in the pages of *The Spectator* found such vehement assailants and champions; whenever, in short, a character in the play appears and speaks lines calculated to dismiss the audience with unruffled temperament and assuaged emotions; we seem to discover a relic of the sententious sapience of the Chorus of Greek tragedy. But in those many others, which are divested of any reference to the play, and in which the audience are directly addressed with a view to obtain a favourable reception for the players, we recognize a development of the brief "plaudite" with which the actor in a play of Plautus or Terence, advancing to the front of the

stage, would appeal to the public.* This latter kind is of course almost peculiar to comedies, in the farcical varieties of which the old custom still lingers in the well-known speech, "and if our kind friends," etc., with which a performance of this sort in modern theatres is so often wound up. The gnomic summing-up character, on the other hand, still survives in the well-known rhyming "tag," as well as in the epilogue. The gradual steps by which the epilogue grew out of the "plaudite," may be clearly distinguished in the old English plays. In that famous old drama, founded on the adventures of two poor University students in search of a living, called *The Return from Parnassus*, the six characters on the stage at the end of the last act, unite in saying of the "refined sprights" among the audience, "let them, and none but them, give us a *plaudite*." So, in a still earlier play, the above-mentioned *Supposes*, Damon, after his last speech to Nevola, turns round to the audience and says: "Nobles and gentlemen, if you suppose that our supposes have given you sufficient cause of delight, show some token whereby we may suppose you are content;" and the author adds at the bottom of the page (by way of *finis*) "Et plauserunt." And in the epilogue to *All's Well that Ends Well*,

* In all the plays of Terence, and in eight of Plautus, this is the case, and the concluding words of the actor are either simply "plaudite," "valete et plaudite," "plausum date," or at most such a form as "Spectatores, fabula hæc est acta: vos plausum date" (as in the *Mostellaria* of Plautus). In four other Plautine comedies (the *Casina*, the *Epidicus*, the *Bacchides*, and the *Cistellaria*), the Grex or Caterva give the final "plaudite."

the song (by way of epilogue) at the end of *Twelfth Night*, the epilogue to the curious old play *Lingua*, in which the audience is requested to awaken an Appetite (one of the allegorical characters of the drama) with a "plaudite," as well as in the epilogues to Massinger's *Parliament of Love*, and to several of Ben Jonson's plays, this mode of winding up is adopted: thus at the end of *The Fox* we read (for stage direction), "Volpone comes forward," and then:

> "The seasoning of the play is the applause.
> Now, though the Fox be punished by the laws,
> He yet doth hope there is no suffering due,
> For any fact which he hath done 'gainst you;
> If there be, censure him; here he doubtful stands:
> If not, fare jovially, and clap your hands."

Similar appeals by actors "coming forward" on the stage, instead of formally speaking an epilogue after the fall of the curtain, are made by Truewit, Justice Clement, and Macilente in Ben Jonson's plays of *Epicœne*, *Every Man in His Humour*, and *Every Man out of His Humour*, respectively. In *The Devil is an Ass*, the conclusion of the drama partakes of both characters. Manly is directed "to come forward for the epilogue," and delivers six lines in blank verse, without, however, the curtain falling, or the epilogue being cut off in any way from the play itself. Similarly Wellborn, in *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* (Massinger) is required to come to the front and speak the epilogue: and in the *Microcosmos* of T. Nabbes the stage directions at the close of the play are for Love (after coming forward) to speak

the epilogue, and then to be "recovered back into the scene" (before the fall of the curtain on all the characters together). And a great number of Massinger's and Ford's epilogues are, like those of Ben Jonson, only from six to nine lines long, thereby showing the transition-stage from the "plaudite" speech to the epilogue proper. Beaumont and Fletcher's length of epilogue is almost invariably eight lines, as contrasted with an average of twenty for the prologue. The epilogue to Ford's *Witch of Edmonton* is six lines only; but the shortest professed epilogue which we have been able to find is a very curious one by Peele (see his Works edited by Dyce, vol. i., p. 67), which consists of two Latin verses. Of the Roman comedians, Plautus had no professed epilogues (that is, as distinct from the play), but only (as we have seen) the "plaudite" of an actor advancing to the foot of the stage, or of the Grex or Caterva; while of the six professed epilogues to the six plays of Terence, the shortest is two lines, and none are longer than eight (as compared with an average of forty lines in his prologues).

So much then as to the outward form of the Prologue and Epilogue in a literary sense. Now as to the persons to whom the delivery of these addresses has at various times been entrusted. In the earliest English plays the poet himself spoke his own prologue. In *Childermas Day* (1512) "Poeta" is set down for this office, and so too in *Jacob and Esau;* before the epilogue of which latter play we further have (as Mr. Collier informs us) the stage-direction: "then entereth

the poet, and the rest stand still till he have done." A little later the poet gave way to his representative, who was usually not an actor in the play, but a person specially deputed to discharge this function, and not known otherwise than by his style and title of "the Prologue" (as we have seen), and by his attributes of a black velvet cloak, and, sometimes, a garland of bays (the latter being clearly a reminiscence of the olden times, when the poet spoke his own lines). The black cloak is frequently referred to in the dramatic literature of the time. In the Induction to Ben Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels*, for instance, some of the children of the Queen's Revels, who were about to perform in it, appear on the stage, quarrelling for the possession of the black cloak, and as to who should speak the prologue of which it was the symbol. The properties of a prologue-speaker are described somewhat differently in Richard Brome's *Antipodes* (acted in 1638), Act ii., sc. 2. Quailpipe there says to Lord Letoy, whose curate he is (on the occasion of the rehearsal on the stage of a play within a play, as in *Hamlet*): "I am not to put on my shape" (or close-fitting dress of the character in the piece) "before I have spoke the prologue, and for that, my lord, I yet want something." *Lord Letoy:* "What, I pray you, with your fond formality?" *Quailpipe:* "I *want my beaver, shoes, and leather cap to speak the prologue in,* which were appointed by your lordship's direction."

At a still later period, we find actors dressed in character to speak the prologue, but not in any character

of the play, while in others the ghost of a defunct dramatist or other poet is in request. Thus in a very early drama, "Homer crowned with a bay garland," delivers the prologue; and in an epilogue written by the Earl of Dorset to Ben Jonson's *Every Man in His Humour*, as revived after the author's death, the ghost of "Rare Ben" unburdens himself of some very smart and malicious criticisms on the weaker race of dramatists who succeeded him; while to Dryden's adaptation of *Troilus and Cressida* were prefixed some fine lines to be delivered by Shakespeare's ghost. In one of Ben Jonson's plays the figure of Envy arises to address the audience, while "Atê Prologus" is set down to speak the introductory lines to George Peele's *Arraignment of Paris* (vol. i., p. 5, Dyce's edition). We have an epilogue by "a dancer" in the second part of *Henry IV.*, and in the Induction to the same play "Rumour painted full of tongues" is required to speak to the spectators. In the old Hindoo drama the normal prologue-speaker is the carpenter, who was also the manager of the theatre, and generally an actor in the piece. In all the plays of the Roman comic writers the "Prologus" or prologue-speaker has no special character, except in the *Aulularia* and *Rudens* of Plautus, in which comedies the "Lars Familiaris" and Arcturus (neither of them characters in the play) respectively speak the prologue; and in the *Amphitryo*, wherein Mercury speaks a somewhat wordy but amusing prologue of one hundred and fifty-two lines (the longest extant probably) in his capacity as *præco* or herald. (This may have suggested the dele-

gation of the epilogue in Dryden's *Indian Emperor* to "a Mercury.") Mercury's justification of his office as a herald in the Plautine comedy reminds us that in the comedies and histories of Hans Sachs of Nuremberg the stock figure to speak both prologue and epilogue is always the herald. One also calls to mind the important share in the development of the plot assigned to the κήρυξ in Greek tragedy.

The dramatists of the early age of our drama did not begin (habitually at least) to assign their prologues and epilogues to the characters of the play so soon as we should suppose from the instances of such a practice which we find in *As You Like It*, *The Tempest* (Rosalind and Prospero being the respective characters), and in several other plays of Shakespeare. Some contemporaries of Shakespeare, no doubt, adopted the practice; but, though by the time of Congreve and Wycherley, and even of Dryden,* it had become usual, it was rather the exception than the rule in the sixteenth century. Tucca, one of the characters in Dekker's *Satiromastix* speaks a prose epilogue; but the epilogue would, more naturally than the prologue, be given to a character in the play, if, as we have supposed, it was

* *e.g.* Thersites in his re-arrangement of *Troilus and Cressida*, and Montezuma in *The Indian Queen* (both epilogues). In the above-mentioned Induction to Greene's *Alphonsus, King of Arragon*, we may notice the point of departure from the old usage, to which a sort of apologetic reference is made in the lines of the prologue:

> "*Poets are scarce*, when goddesses themselves
> Are forced to leave their high and stately seats,"—

i.e. to assist in the prologue.

but a development of the old "plaudite" address.* Thus a character in the play (Quicksilver) speaks the epilogue to *Eastward Hoe.* We have divers references to incidents in the play affecting the characters which they had assumed therein made by the epilogue-speakers in Fletcher's *Fancies, Chaste and Noble,* Beaumont and Fletcher's *Humourous Lieutenant,* and also in the play of *The Witch of Edmonton,* where the character assumed in the drama and retained in the delivery of the epilogue was "Winnifrede." Similarly Trincalo speaks the epilogue in the old drama *Albumazar* (acted before the King in the hall of Trinity College, Cambridge, the author being one T. Tomkins of that college); and Welcome, the host, speaks that to the *London Chanticleers* (a very quaint play, in which all the characters were street-criers). Mr. Collier has also collected some instances of prologues similarly delivered at this time, but they are not common. In the Roman comedy I only find one instance of a prologue being recited by a character in the play; and then the speaker (in Terence's *Heautontimorumenos*) considers it necessary to apologize for the departure from usage. He is about to begin the scene as Chremes immediately after his delivery of the introductory address, without his retiring, or any interposition of the curtain. What the usage was appears from his expression: "Ne cui sit vestrum mirum, cur partes seni Poeta dederit, *quae sunt adoles-*

* We find a reminiscence of the old "plaudite" in the last line of the epilogue to *The Heir* (by Thomas May, acted 1620), where the speaker punningly requests the audience to "clap hands and make a bargain."

centium." Young men, it would appear from these lines, usually spoke the prologues, and were exclusively devoted to this task.

The next decided novelty after the above, as regards the character of the person deputed to speak the prologue, was introduced in 1609, when a female character (not a woman, of course, as women had not begun to act at this time, but a boy-actor personating a female), spoke the prologue to *Every Woman in her Humour.* The stage-directions are: "Enter Flavia, as a Prologue;" and, having entered, she says, "Gentles of both sexes, and of all sorts, I am sent to bid ye welcome. I am but instead of a Prologue, for a she-Prologue is as rare as a usurer's alms." So also Rosalind, as "the lady-epilogue" in *As You Like It,* feels bound to justify what was not yet an established usage: "It is not the fashion," she says, "to see the lady the Epilogue: yet it is no more unhandsome, than to see the lord the Prologue." Not long after the introduction of Killigrew's and D'Avenant's actresses, at the Restoration, we find women, instead of boys, in female characters, speaking both prologues and epilogues. Nell Gwynne, Mrs. Mountford, and Mrs. Bracegirdle became particularly noted for their art in this respect, and one or other of them was often selected for the purpose by Dryden and his fellow-dramatists.

The Prologue, from the earliest times, was frequently introduced by a preliminary dialogue. This, no doubt, was a "survival" of the old "Induction." * Thus, in *The*

* Only one such preliminary dialogue is to be found in Roman comedy.

Return from Parnassus, a boy, a stage-keeper, Momus, and Defensor (all characters unconnected with the plot of the play) keep up a conversation in which they talk of the previous fortunes of "the old musty show" that they are about to perform, how "it hath lain this twelvemonth in the bottom of a coal-house amongst brooms and old shoes; an invention that we are ashamed of, and, therefore, have promised the copies to chandlers to wrap their candles in;" and finally, after recommendations from Momus "to provide beer; for the show will be pitiful dry," the stage-keeper, remarking that he hears the spectators asking for a blank verse, delivers the prologue. There is a similar artifice, as we have already remarked, in the old play of *Wily Beguiled*, and in Ben Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels*. The preliminary conversation between such characters as manager, author, players, prompter, call-boy, etc., etc., is a device which has found favour in all periods of dramatic literature, both of this and other countries. We find it frequently employed by Fielding, as in his *Don Quixote*, for example; and by Goethe in *Faust*, where in the stage-prologue we have the manager, the poet, and Merryman on the stage together. The above-mentioned "carpenter," in the ancient Hindoo drama, ends his "prologue" by calling in the actors, and with feigned impatience bullying them for not being ready; after which conversational prelude, the actors are left in possession of the stage, and the

The Prologue to the *Trinummus* of Plautus consists of a conversation between Luxuria and Inopia, the representatives of Cause and Effect in the action of the play—the good and evil genii of the *dramatis personæ*.

action of the drama commences. In Beaumont and Fletcher's *Knight of the Burning Pestle* there is an amusing preliminary dialogue wherein the "prologue" proper complains of the intrusion of a certain "citizen" and his wife, who insist in coming on to the stage with their boy Ralph (one of the characters in the play), and profess the greatest interest in the performance, more especially as it affects the aforesaid Ralph, and tends to bring out his talents. This interest, they continue (as we have seen) to exhibit, as a sort of Chorus, before each act throughout the play. This idea was certainly a novel one. Ben Jonson, by way of introduction to his *Every Man Out of His Humour*, gives us a conversation substantial enough to fit out a good sized act. "After the second sounding" of the trumpet, Cordatus, Asper, and Mitis, three characters in the play, are instructed to enter, and maintain on the stage a confabulation the one aim and object of which is, as usual, to glorify and vindicate the author. After some fifty lines of this, Asper, in conformity with the stage directions, turns round to the audience, and remarks:

> "I not observed this thronged round till now,
> Gracious and kind spectators, you are welcome," etc.

Then follows more abuse of the malignant poet's rivals, interspersed with a little contemptuous flattery of the "spectators," whom Asper had so tardily noticed; but all this is spun out to such inordinate length, that we are not surprised when Cordatus expresses a wish that the real business would begin: "This protraction is able to sour the best settled patience in the theatre."

Then the trumpet sounds for the third time, and in proper form ushers in the Prologue who, on Cordatus remonstrating with him for his late appearance, and declaring that he was about to have spoken the prologue himself, takes the grumbler at his word, and leaves him to do it, protesting that he himself is "unperfect" in his words, and glad to be rid of a task in which he "must of necessity have been out." Then Carlo Buffon enters, followed by a boy with wine and glasses; and fortified by a cup of canary which "sparkles like a diamond,"—"a good draught in place of a bad prologue," —he delivers a kind of rambling gossiping prose effusion, after which Macilente enters, and so begins Act i.

In *The Magnetic Lady*, Ben Jonson uses the old name of "Induction, or Chorus," and we are introduced to "Master Probee and Master Damplay," who are met by a "prompt-boy." It is needless to say that Master Damplay represents an Aristarchus of the period, full of sour denunciations of the "poets, poetasters, poetaccios, and poetitos," as the boy calls them. All the questions of these two critics, concerning the author and his play, having been smartly answered by the boy, two of the characters appear, and Damplay inquires who they are, to which the boy replies: "Because it is your first question, and these be the prime persons, it would in civility require an answer, but I have heard the poet affirm that to be the most unlucky scene in the play, which needs an interpreter, and especially when the auditory are awake, and such are you he presumes; ergo—" and so he breaks off, and the scene begins.

In *The Staple of News*, Ben gives us first an Induction, and then the prologue proper. In the Induction, "Gossip Mirth," "Gossip Tattle," "Gossip Expectation," and "Gossip Censure," four gentlemen, "lady-like attired," chatter with the Prologue about the title of the play, while the latter vainly endeavours to discharge his functions, till the "tiremen" enter to "mend the lights," and the "book-holder" (or prompter) is heard behind the scenes telling Master Prologue to begin, who thereupon implores the ladies to allow him to act as the "man-midwife" of the players who would fain be delivered of their play, of which "they were like to have a hard labour." Gossip Mirth, however, recommences her babbling, till stopped by Gossip Censure, and the Prologue is permitted to deliver his rhymed address.

Dryden was very liberal in his use of what we may call the Prodialogue. The play of *The Rival Ladies* is introduced to the spectators by *two* Prologues, who converse together. Prologue No. 1, after first bullying the audience in the usual fashion, begins to cajole them, and to call them "kind judges," etc., when enters Prologue No. 2, who promptly brings his fellow back to the strain of invective which the audiences of those days seemed to enjoy more than the choicest flattery. There are also two prologues to *The Maiden Queen*, but only in the modern sense of the word; the person who speaks the two consecutive addresses is the same. After half a dozen rhyming triplets, "the Prologue goes out, and stays while a tune is played, after which he returns

again," and then delivers another set of heroic lines, beginning:

> "I had forgot one half, I do protest,
> And now am sent again to speak the rest,"—

which he accordingly does. This we may call a prologue in two acts.* But coming back to the prodialogue, Dryden furnishes us with one of the most witty examples of this form in *The Wild Gallant*, in which a prevalent fashion of the day, and one to which Dryden himself is said to have sometimes yielded, that of consulting astrologers, is marked for ridicule. The prologue is presented to two astrologers, who are discovered when a curtain is drawn aside, and foretell the fortunes of the play in a very humorous colloquy. This habit of using the prodialogue, which distinguished several of Dryden's plays, is severely ridiculed and parodied by the poet Bayes's famous Thunder and Lightning Prologue in *The Rehearsal*, Act i., sc. 1.

The Epidialogue is not nearly so common in the period under consideration as the corresponding form of the prologue. One of the earliest instances is that in

* There were two prologues to the *Hecyra* of Terence, which were composed to meet peculiar circumstances. This play was unfortunate on two successive occasions. Having failed to gain a hearing on the first day, owing to the competition of the "funambuli," or rope-dancers performing in the same open space, a prologue of eight lines was written for the second day, briefly alluding to the author's adverse fate, and begging favourable attention to the second trial. Another failure, however, succeeded to the first; consequently on the third day a longer prologue (forty-nine lines) was composed for, and spoken by the people's favourite actor, Ambivius Turpio, who, pleading eloquently for the poet as "orator ornatu prologi" (vide sup.), alludes to several previous initial failures of authors which, in his experience, he had yet seen result in brilliant successes.

Richard Broome's *Antipodes* (1638), which is divided between the Doctor and Peregrine, two characters in the play. The epilogue to Dryden's *Don Sebastian*, "spoken between" Antonio and Morayma, is one of the latest. Besides these, we may refer to the epilogue to Fletcher's *Fancies, Chaste and Noble*, consisting of eight lines, of which two apiece are given to Morosa, Claretta, Castamela, and Flavia. And in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* we have an epidialogue of the same character, equally amusing as, and in all respects answering to, the above-mentioned prodialogue to the same play.

Some of the players of the seventeenth century achieved a special reputation for their manner of delivering prologues and epilogues. Nell Gwynne at the King's House, and afterwards Mrs. Bracegirdle and Mrs. Mountfort were, as we have remarked, particularly celebrated among the women; and Hart, followed by Cibber, among the men.* In the graver kind of address, Betterton was considered admirable at the Lincoln's Inn Fields playhouse.

It is not surprising therefore that poets soon learnt to write their addresses to the audiences, as well as the parts of their plays, "up to" particular actors and actresses. In the epilogue to *The Maiden Queen*, purporting to have been "written by a person of honour,"

* Also Verbruggen, Betterton, and "Colonel Codrington" in John Dennis's prologues and epilogues, won distinction in this line. Later still King was considered particularly happy in his delivery of a prologue. In the Roman comedy, Terence's favourite prologue-speaker was (as we have already said) Ambivius Turpio.

the language is evidently framed for the mouth of Pepys' "pretty Nelly." After a recital of the merits of the play we are told that the author had been left indulging "in a rant, against the envious, and the ignorant;" and so on:

> "And twenty other things he bid me tell ye;
> But I cried, e'en go do't yourself for Nelly."

But the most famous address of this character written for Nell Gwynne was the epilogue to Dryden's *Tyrannic Love.* In this play she acted a tragic part, that of the *Princess Valeria,* and one to which, as it appears from the lines put into her mouth afterwards, she felt herself to be, as indeed she was, but little suited. When at the end of the last act, the bearer comes to take off the lifeless body of *Valeria,* the dead princess jumps up and becomes with alarming suddenness the living actress, whose *propria persona* is distinguishable, if no otherwise, by that vigour of language, to put it mildly, which even Mr. Pepys disapprovingly remarked behind the scenes. She exclaims to the bearer:

> "Hold; are you mad? You damn'd confounded dog!
> I am to rise, and speak the Epilogue."

And then to the audience:

> "I have, kind gentlemen, strange news to tell ye,
> I am the ghost of poor departed Nelly," etc.

She explains that "she dies out of her calling in a tragedy;" calls a poet a

> "Damned dull poet, who could prove
> So senseless to make Nelly die for love,"

and concludes thus :

> " As for my epitaph, when I am gone
> I'll trust no poet, but will write my own :
> Here Nelly lies, who, though she lived a slattern,
> Yet died a princess, acting in St. Catharine."

Her manner of delivering this epilogue so enchanted Charles II. (or, as the wits of the time called him, Charles III., as the successor to Charles Hart and Charles Sackville, the two first lovers of this fascinating actress), that he is said to have gone behind the scenes, and to have installed her at Whitehall without further delay. And this story Genest, a very precise inquirer into such matters, deems to have been well-founded, after an examination of the date at which the Duke of St. Albans was born.

Nell Gwynne's " Charles the First," to wit, Hart, was almost as famous as the lady herself in the delivery of prologues, and we often find him told off by the poets of the day for the exercise of this function, then considered very honourable, and only to be entrusted to the best artists. Thus it was considered a special honour, when Sir John Vanbrugh, pleased with Colley Cibber's modesty in choosing two very minor parts in *The Pilgrim*, assigned to the young actor the task of delivering the epilogue ; and still more when, on the revival of this play, Dryden gave him in addition to this, the prologue which he had composed for the occasion : thereby mightily incensing Wilkes and the other actors. of the company, who thought this double compliment to Cibber a slight on themselves. Mrs.

Marshall, Goodman, and above all, Mrs. Bracegirdle, were, after Nell Gwynne, Dryden's favourites for the office of speaking his addresses to the noisy and noise-loving audiences of London; but when he set himself to fascinate with refined and Attic humour the choicer spirits of Oxford University, to which he was so devoted, the poet usually chose the elegant Hart.

In some few of Dryden's plays, where two or more actors appear "as themselves" to speak the prologue or epilogue, allowances are freely made for their individual peculiarities. Thus in the epilogue to *Mithridates, King of Pontus*, Goodman appears, and after beginning in the usual strain,

> "Pox on this play-house! 'tis an old tired jade,
> 'Twill do no longer, we must force a trade," etc.,

and then humorously suggesting several "trades" likely to revive the declining drama and reinstate the fortunes of the house, finally announces that he will

> "Go, scour the scene-room, and engage
> Some toy within, to save the falling stage,"

and after an exit, returns with Mrs. Cox, also *in propriâ personâ*, with whom he holds a little conversation, and then allows her to "take the stage" and finish the epilogue. In the Induction to *The Malcontent*, the three famous actors, Burbage, Sly, and Condell, are introduced in the same way, and to serve the same purpose.

The prologue written by Dryden to Joseph Harris's play, *The Mistakes*, is opened by a conversation in prose between Mr. Bright and Mr. Bowen, who soon announces that "honest Mr. Williams is just come in, half mellow,

from the Rose Tavern"—the hostelry which Mr. Pepys loved so well. It was rather cruel in Dryden to expose the infirmities of "honest Mr. Williams" so publicly, for it was certainly true, as we are told in Cibber's *Apology*, that this actor loved his bottle better than his business. "He swears he is inspired with claret," observes Mr. Bowen, "and will come on, and that extempore, too, either with a prologue of his own, or something like one." Then Bowen and Bright leave Williams in possession of the stage; and this "titubating" gentleman delivers a jerky address, more or less significant of his condition, which ends with the pious ejaculation, "the devil take small beer." *

From very early times playwrights seem to have been in the habit of casting about for novel methods of introducing their prologues to the audience. The plain address, with the orthodox accompaniments of black cloak and bays, was soon found to pall. It was not enough that the Prologue should come forward, say his say, make his bow, and depart; it was thought that he ought to do something striking or eccentric. As early as 1600, the date of *Summer's Last Will and Testament*, by Nash, we have a prologue delivered by a small boy, sitting on the knee of Will Summer. No less a personage than "Envy arising in the midst of the stage" was required to usher in Ben Jonson's bitter drama, *The Poetaster*. After a good deal of talk, however, she

* In the prologue to *Wily Beguiled* the words "humorous George" are supposed to refer to Peele, the dramatist and actor, who, perhaps, delivered the prologue and performed a part in the play.

"descends slowly," and another novelty is brought forward to attract the spectators in the shape of a "Prologue in armour," * who "enters hastily as Envy disappears," and thus salutes her, and apologizes for himself:

> "Stay, monster, 'ere thou sink—thus on thy head
> Set we our bolder foot, with which we tread
> Thy malice into earth: so Spite should die,
> Despised and scorned by noble Industry.
> If any muse, why I salute the stage
> As armed Prologue; know, 'tis a dangerous age:
> Wherein who writes had need present his scenes
> Forty-fold proof against the conjuring means
> Of base detractors, and illiterate apes,
> That fill up rooms in fair and formal shapes."

It is to be hoped that Ben's prologue derived no small portion of its pith and point from the inspiration of that unhappy spirit whom he thus unfairly conjured up to trample upon. The devil, we know, when once summoned, will not easly be shown the door, and Envy must surely have been behind the scenes during that venomous "Apologetic Dialogue" which the poet furnished by way of epilogue to this same play. This epidialogue, as we call it, which is very lengthy, is furnished with a scene—"the author's lodgings"—outside which stand Nasutus and Polyposus, anxious to "see him how he looks after those libels." Accordingly "they come forward; the scene opens, and discovers the

* With which we may compare the "armed prologue" who speaks the preliminary address to the audience in *Troilus and Cressida* ("Hither am I come, a prologue armed"). The motive of the dress is explained afterwards, viz. to suggest and be in character with the subject-matter of the play: ("Suited in like condition as our argument").

author in his study;" and then the said author, in long speeches and short epigrams, with Latin quotations and English rhymes, with "wise saws and modern instances," unbosoms himself to his interlocutors, and enjoys his customary growl. All this, however, Jonson tells the reader, was merely by way of "answer . . . to sundry impotent libels then cast out—and some yet remaining —against me and this play."

In Ben Jonson's *Sad Shepherd* we have another novelty. While the prologue is being spoken, at the words "the sad young shepherd, whom we here present," the Sad Shepherd himself "passeth silently over the stage" to give the additional point, and whet the curiosity of the audience. So also in the course of the prologue to *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*, the curtain is drawn, and Fabel is discovered.

The very clever actor, Lacy, whom Charles II. admired to the extent of having his portrait taken in three characters, once showed some ingenuity in adapting his epilogue to the alterations made in the body of a tragedy, by Howard, called *The Vestal Virgin*. Originally, it was his cue to come in—while the concluding lines were being spoken, and after all the characters, except two, in the play had been killed—with the words:

> "By your leave, gentlemen—
> After a sad and dismal tragedy,
> I do suppose that few expected *me*."

But when Howard afterwards thought fit to entirely reconstruct the latter part of the play, and kill only

one of the characters Lacy used to come forward, and seeing that most of the *dramatis personæ* were alive, tell the spectators that there was no need of him, and that the poet had spoilt his epilogue. It was Lacy also who was so carefully trained to imitate Dryden's manner in the part of Bayes in *The Rehearsal*, and who spoke the prologue to that amusing burlesque, ending with the line, "'Tis I, John Lacy, who reformed the stage."

The facetious but always impecunious Joe Haines, whose adventures were so many and wide-known, the self-dubbed "count," great both in the penning and speaking of prologues and epilogues, was the inventor of a new mode of delivering them—on the back of an ass.* Whether this was a reminiscence of Hamlet's "each actor on his ass," or what other point there was in the practice, cannot be discovered; but the practice always raised infinite mirth among the groundlings, and was so widely imitated, notably by Liston and Pinkethman afterwards, that the ass was in danger of becoming as much a "property" of the Prologue as the black cloak had been previously. By the time of Davies, "the jest" was, in the opinion of that amiable actor, bookseller, and gossip, "so worn out, that a new one might be formed at no great expense of brains." But the most celebrated prologue ever delivered by Joe Haines was his recantation-prologue on his return to the orthodox Church and the stage, after he had temporarily

* See Tom Brown's Works, vol. iv., p. 311, and Genest's *Account of the English Stage*, vol. ii., p. 106, on this asinine delivery.

deserted both for the Church of Rome.* This address the "count" spoke in a white sheet, holding a lighted taper in his hand, after the manner of a recanting penitent, and in it he expressed regret for having forsaken the true English religion, and more particularly, the true English stage, dolefully promising not to offend in either particular again. The words, we may imagine, were droned out in the measured whine considered proper to such occasions. To the above we may add another sensational prologue spoken by Haines in a mourning suit. (See Genest, vol. ii., p. 157.)

The epilogue to one of the plays of this period, by way of still further innovation, was *sung*, in alternate strains, by those eminent players, Harris and Sandford (the most notable stage-villain of the period), dressed in the character of two itinerant street ballad-singers, who yelled their nasal strophes and antistrophes to one another across the stage. Pepys was particularly struck by this performance, and indeed pronounced it the only thing worth seeing or hearing in the play.†

It was not an uncommon thing, indeed, for a play in those times to be saved from damnation by a sensational prologue. Nokes, the famous broad comedian, so highly praised by Cibber, and for whom Dryden wrote the character of Sir Martin Mar-all, is said to

* This prologue was written by Tom Brown "for his friend Jo. Haines," and is published in the satirist's collected works, vol. iv., p. 212.

† At a much later date we find a peculiar epilogue to *The Ragged Uproar* (1754) to be spoken by "Mary Squires flying on broomsticks," requiring, we would think, no ordinary acrobatic skill on the part of "Mary Squires."

have obtained some sort of success for a very bad play at the Duke's playhouse by dint of an extraordinary prologue which he recited, and in which he appeared in a hat of portentous brim. The King's company were always alert to detect, imitate, and, if possible, outdo the devices by which the rival house attained its popularity. Accordingly, not long after this performance, Dryden wrote a prologue to the first part of *The Conquest of Granada* expressly for Nell Gwynne, in which she was required to come forward arrayed in a large waist-belt and a hat of the circumference of a coach-wheel! Such simple devices secured the applause of the Merry Monarch—"the King," says Downes, "wanted little of being suffocated with laughter." In the opening lines of this address the poet, as was his wont, derided the popular taste, which he was yet not strong enough to resist:

> "This jest was first of the other house making,
> And, five times tried, has never failed of taking;
> For 'twere a shame a poet should be killed
> Under the shelter of so broad a shield.
> This is that hat, whose very sight did win ye
> To laugh and clap, as though the devil were in ye.
> As then for Nokes, so now I hope you'll be
> So dull, to laugh once more for love of me.
> I'll write a play, says one, for I have got
> A broad-brimmed hat, and waist-belt, towards a plot.
> Says the other, I have one more large than that;
> Thus they outwit each other—with a hat!
> The brims still grew with every play they writ,
> And grew so large they cover'd all the wit."

He concluded by wittily recommending that in future all poets should be searched, like duellists before they

fight, to see whether they have about them any unlawful arms in the shape of "wheel-broad hats."

The prologue to *The Indian Queen* was another of Dryden's attempts to secure public favour by novelty. "As the music plays a soft air," say the stage directions, "the curtain rises slowly, and discovers an Indian boy and girl sleeping under two plantation trees, and when the curtain is almost up, the music turns into a tune expressing an alarm, at which the boy awakes and speaks." The dialogue which succeeds between the boy and Queveda is elegant, and unusually complimentary to the audience, who are described as "deities," arrived "not to conquer, but forgive."

In the earliest period of our drama, it was of course ordinarily intended that the prologue should be spoken only on the opening night, but on some occasions it was so popular, and formed such an important feature in the entire entertainment, that it was repeated in subsequent performances. Thus the prologue to *Woman made a Justice*, a play written by the famous tragedian Betterton, was spoken every day of the fourteen during which it "ran," and we may perhaps infer from a line in Dryden's above-mentioned "wheel-broad hat" effusion, that Nokes's prologue at the Duke's house had been repeated five times.*

So much importance, in fact, was attached to the prologue of a play, even in comparison with the play itself, that writers in those days often devoted them-

* At a later period, the prologue to Garrick's *Bon Ton* had to be repeated nightly, in consequence of King's fine delivery of the lines.

selves to its composition exclusively, and even great poets did not disdain to write several prologues for plays in which they had had no hand,—witness the mass of these compositions for other playwrights, which are collected in Sir W. Scott's edition of Dryden,—who thus rendered services, which such noted dramatists as Lee, Etheredge, and Shadwell, conscious on their side of a deficiency in this respect, were only too glad to accept; often, indeed, when unable to procure the assistance of the best prologue-writer of the day, rather than damage a performance by a bad address of their own, enlisting some "person of honour," or "quality," or "an unknown hand," or "a friend of the author," to write a good one for them.* The playwright was then almost as mortified by the rejection of a prologue, as by that of a play, and we know that "glorious John" himself took a long time before he so far recovered from his annoyance at the rejection of the prologue which he had composed for the Masque of Calisto, as to send in an epilogue, which, to his further vexation, was also rejected, through the machinations of his rivals at the court. The most moving and sympathetic of this poet's prologues for others were those which he wrote in his old age for the rising generation, and the less known or fortunate poets; those, for instance, composed for dramas written by his own son, or such men as Dr. D'Avenant, son of the former patentee

* It is curious that Apulus, the comic actor, is alleged to have written the prologue to the *Casina* of Plautus—the only instance, so far as I can find, of any of the prologues of the Roman comedy having been attributed to any other person than the author of the play.

and manager of the Duke's house. But of those writers who turned out their prologues by dozens, and did nothing else, Dryden, in the epilogue to *Troilus and Cressida* (as amended), speaks very contemptuously, as

> ". . . those to whom the stage does not belong,
> Such, whose vocation only is—to song;
> At most, to prologue, when, for want of time,
> Poets take in for journey-work in rhyme."

The oldest price of a prologue and epilogue together, of which we have any record, is five shillings. This sum used to be paid by Henslowe to the playwrights who worked for him; and, when we consider that often not more than two pounds was given for an entire play, the importance then attached to these brief addresses will be apparent. By the time of Dryden, the usual price of a prologue *alone* had risen to five guineas; and in his later and more prosperous days, the poet turned up his nose even at this sum, when sent to him by Thomas Southerne, for whom he had written the prologue to *The Loyal Brother*—"Not that I do so out of disrespect to you, young man," the veteran playwright explained, "but the players have had my goods too cheap. In future, I must have ten guineas." Southerne, himself, afterwards helped still further to raise the pecuniary remuneration for these productions, and figures in Pope's verses as—

> "Tom, whom Heaven sent down to raise
> The price of prologues and of plays."

CHAPTER II.

The various matters with which the prologue and epilogue dealt—Description of the play—Commendation of the author—Abuse of rival authors—Prologues written by veterans for the first plays of young poets—Prologues by or on behalf of actor-authors—"Lacy's fiddle"—Ben Jonson's prologues attacking Shakespeare, Dekker, etc.—Dekker's counterblasts—Dryden's prologues in justification of theories of dramatic composition—His abandonment of the rhymed couplet—"Love and Honour" plays—Spanish plots of domestic intrigue—References in prologues and epilogues to excessive scenic embellishments; to the opera; to Jeremy Collier; to Sir Richard Blackmore—Dryden's recantation.

HAVING already touched on the speakers, writers, forms, and accessories of our old Prologues and Epilogues, it remains to consider the various kinds of matter with which they dealt. Naturally, one would suppose that a prologue *ex vi termini* ought to discourse lightly of the subject of the play, and give some glimpse or foretaste of the more substantial delights which are to follow; be, in fact, to the drama itself, what prefaces or introductions are to books, in which—

> ". . . although small pricks
> To their subsequent volumes, there is seen
> The baby figure of the giant mass
> Of things to come at large."

And after this fashion were the earliest prologues made, when author's minds were more guileless and simple than they afterwards learnt to be. In such primitive dramas as the already mentioned *Supposes* (1566), *The Return from Parnassus* (1606), or *David and Bathsheba* (1599), attributed to George Peele, the audiences are told without circumlocution, and in plain words, what it is they are going to see, and what it is all about.* The author does not attempt to bring himself into any personal relation with the spectators. Indeed, in the prologue to the last-named of these three plays, he keeps so aloof from them, that its tone not a little resembles that of the exordium to an epical poem, or of a Miltonic invocation to the Muse; the stately and musical motion of its verse seems far more suitable to the closet than the playhouse, and suggests that "emotional language overhead" which has been described as being of the essence of poetry, as distinct from rhetoric, of which the later prologues soon came to partake so freely. It begins:

"Of Israel's sweetest singer now I sing,
His holy style and happy victories;
* * * * *

* So also in most of Shakespeare's plays, *e.g.* in *Romeo and Juliet*, which we select for mention here out of several other dramas in which the same practice is observable, because in this the prologue is peculiarly essential to the play which follows, and of which it, so to speak, strikes the key-note. So impressed was Lady Martin with its importance in this regard, that, as she has lately told us, when playing Juliet at Drury Lane, she was accustomed to speak it herself, with a domino thrown over her dress, in front of a scene representing the tomb of the Scaligers at Verona. Shakespeare also seems to have attached some such significance to it, since the last lines of the play recall in a striking manner and repeat this refrain and dominant motive.

Of this sweet poet, Jove's musician,
And of his beauteous son, I please to sing.
Then help, divine Adonai, to conduct
Upon the wings of my well-tempered verse
The hearers' minds above the towers of heaven,
And guide them so in this thrice haughty flight,
Their mounting feathers scorch not with the fire,
That none can temper but thy holy hand:
To thee for succour flies my feeble muse,
And at thy feet her iron pen doth use." *

Here the spectators are completely ignored.† But we soon find the playwright coming out of this shy seclusion, and making coy, and then bolder, advances to his patrons; at first modestly hoping for success and applause at their hands, then proclaiming to them his own position, difficulties, or claims to admiration; and finally, hectoring it over them, bullying them, denouncing them, and deriding their taste, or the rival aspirants to their good opinion. These classes of prologues become similarly distinguishable from one another at an early stage of the Roman comedy. Evanthius, the grammarian, has classified them as: (1) ὑποθετικός, or *argumentativus*, describing the plot of the

* Cf. the prologue to Beaumont and Fletcher's *Rule a Wife and Have a Wife*, which, in like manner, touches only on the matter of the play.

† In Plautus we frequently, but not always, find this simple introductory element, as for instance, in the prologues to the *Amphitryo* (but as to part only), the *Asinaria*, the *Captivi*, the *Rudens* (latter half), and the *Aulularia*, which last begins in a very ingenuous and artless manner—"ne quis miretur qui sim, paucis eloquar." In the *Pseudolus*, the Prologue deliberately shirks his customary duty, and expresses his intention to hand it over to Pseudolus himself. Terence's prologues, on the other hand are, with one exception, completely occupied with other matters, more personal to the poet, or to the principal actor. The *Phormio* alone has its plot expanded in a portion of the prologue, the rest of it being similar to the others in style and allusion.

play; (2) συστατικός, or *commendatitius*, praising and justifying the author; (3) ἐπιτιμητικός, or *relativus*, attacking the author's rivals. To these he adds (4) the most common of all, the μικτός, dealing with all the above matters.

Meanwhile, of course, the Epilogue made similar advances in confidence, and moved forward *pari passu* with its brother, the Prologue. The earliest epilogues of the English drama, sum up and justify, or, at all events, mainly allude to the plot of the play; then, as the prologues take to begging for applause, the epilogues begin to congratulate themselves on a success achieved —though this, as Fielding pointed out at a much later date, was necessarily a task requiring some delicacy of handling, with a view to the possible necessity of altered allusions to suit altered circumstances; *) from justifying the plot, they are next employed in justifying the author; then in vindicating his theories of composition at the expense of others, and his honour at the expense of that of his competitors; till we arrive at the final stage, represented by Dryden, when, if not entirely occupied with indecencies, they bristle with personalities, recriminations, and scurrility. Thus it soon came about, when once the playwrights perceived the uses to which

* "A poet should, unless his fate be guessed,
Write for each play two epilogues at least;
For how to empty benches can he say—
'What means this mighty crowding here to-day?'
Or should the pit with flattery be crammed,
How can he speak it, when the play is damned?"
Epilogue to *The Intriguing Chambermaid.*

prologues and epilogues, like prefaces, might be put, that the play was the last thing in the world that these productions were concerned with. So disconnected had the epilogues become by the end of the seventeenth century from the matter of the play, that the *Spectator* felt bound, in an essay on "Merry Epilogues to Tragic Plays," to enter a protest against the then universal custom. Whether strictly artistic or not, however, there can be no doubt that this custom, originating in the combined ingenuity and self-consciousness, or malice of rival authors, is to be credited with having illustrated in no small degree contemporary morals, politics, and art. Let us consider in order the various kinds of material with which these addresses to the audience, so rapidly diverted from their original meaning and purpose, dealt in the hands of different authors.*

Before coming to the turbulent region of recrimination, rivalry and jealousy, let us coast along the calmer waters where dispassionate, harmless, and even generous language prevails. Where, for instance, an author modestly introduces himself, and his first production, to the public: as in the prologue to the

* The prologue of the old Hindoo drama demands some mention here, because it appears to have embraced almost all the subjects generally dealt with separately (or not more than two at a time, we will say) by the various classes of modern prologues about to be considered. First, the prologue-reciter (who was carpenter of the house, and manager of the company) described the festival, which gave occasion to the performance, then the plot of the play, then the merits of the author, and then the skill of the actors, winding up with a glowing inventory of the properties. The *παράβασις* of the old Greek comedy can alone be compared with it in comprehensiveness.

Cutter of Coleman Street, in which Abraham Cowley meekly implores the "gentlemen critics"

> 'To let this forlorn hope go by
> Safe and untouched. 'That must not be,' you'll cry.
> If ye be wise, it must: I'll tell ye why,
> There are seven, eight, nine—stay, there are behind
> Ten plays at least, which wait but for a wind
> And the glad news that we the evening miss;
> And those are all your own, if you spare this.
> Some are but new-trimmed up, others quite new,
> Some by known shipwrights built, and others too
> By that great author made, whoe'er he be,
> That styles himself 'Person of Quality.'"

Others there are, in which the special circumstances and position of the author are matter of apology, or turned into a plea for indulgence. Sometimes it is his youth, or inexperience in literature, sometimes the fact of his being a player as well as a writer, sometimes his staleness from overwork and exhaustion. Thus Dryden, to his honour, would often compose his best prologues to introduce young and unfledged dramatists to the "understanding gentlemen of the ground," as Ben Jonson called the pittites of the day. Charles D'Avenant, for instance (the son of his old collaborateur), Dryden cordially recommended to the playhouse audience, which he had alternately flattered, besought, expostulated with, and reviled for so many years. The play was called *Circe*, and the author was only nineteen years of age when he wrote it. Though successful, it was his only production.

> "Were you but half so wise, as you're severe,
> Our youthful poet should not need to fear;
> To his green years your censures you would suit,
> Nor blast the blossom, but expect the fruit."

Dryden concludes by an appeal to those who had previously read and approved of the play to support their judgment in public:

> "You, who in private have this play allowed,
> Ought to maintain your suffrage to the crowd,
> The captive, once submitted to your bands,
> You should protect from death by vulgar hands."

Charles Saunders was another "boy-poet," for whose *Tamerlane* (1681) Dryden wrote an epilogue, as graceful as the above prologue to the first effort of Cowley, with whom he is compared:

> "Ladies, the beardless author of this day
> Commends to you the fortune of his play.
> A woman-wit [Aphra-Behn?] has often graced the stage,
> But he's the first boy-poet of our age.
> Early as is the year his fancies blow,
> Like young Narcissus, peeping through the snow.
> Thus Cowley blossomed soon, yet flourished long:
> This is as forward, and may prove as strong."

Powell's appeal, on the production of his tragedy, *The Treacherous Brothers*, at the Theatre Royal in 1691 was much simpler and blunter:

> "New plays is still the cry of all the town,
> Therefore to-day, young Powell gives you one;
> The fellow never writ before this time."

And the epilogue entreats the audience to be "kind to his first-born."

Powell was an actor in the company, but he makes no allusion to the circumstance, by way of a plea for indulgent consideration, as Mountfort thought it necessary to do in the prologue (spoken by Mrs. Bracegirdle) to his *Successful Strangers* (1690).

"Some are resolved (he hears) it shall be damned,
Only because 'tis from a player's hand.
Could but the females see, how very sad
He looks, they'd pity such a likely lad." *

Poor Mountfort seems to have felt that every apology in advance was essential. "I know I have many enemies," he says, in his preface,—he was eventually killed in a tavern-brawl,—"but why they are so is more than they know; I cannot remember any person whom I ever injured willingly."

An apology is made on a different ground for the posthumous play, produced at Dorset Gardens in 1684, by the celebrated actor Lacy, and called *Sir Hercules Buffoon, or the Poetical Squire.* The actor, if he had been living, would have taken a principal part in it, and, as D'Urfey implies in the prologue which he wrote for the occasion, could have achieved a success for that or any other play; whereas, under the circumstances—

"If it takes not, all that we can say on't
Is, we have his fiddle, not his hands, to play on't."

On which Genest severely remarks that the King's company should have buried Lacy's fiddle with him.

Dryden not unfrequently appeals to his audiences for consideration on the ground that he is overworked. He was bound by the terms of his contract with the king's players to write so many dramas a year for them;

* There is, at a later date, an amusing prologue by Sheridan Knowles to *The Wife*, in which the actor-author humorously complains of being "scouted" by "either crew" (of poets and actors) on the principle of "Twy-natured is no nature." Therefore, he says to the public, "dear patrons of both arts, he turns to you."

and it appears that the jaded Muse did not always respond to the fresh calls upon her powers. There was even a quarrel between the parties after a time, and the players complained to the king, in a formal document, of the poet's non-fulfilment of his engagements. To the irksomeness of the demands thus made upon him, Dryden somewhat unfairly (since he had received, and was receiving, valuable consideration for his work from the players, besides which the critics had nothing to do with his overworking himself) makes pitiful and not obscure references, with the view of averting the disapprobation of the audience. Thus the Prologue to *The Mock Astrologer*, in some very witty but indecent lines, contrasts the poet's energy in wooing the dramatic Muse on his first engagement, with his flagging spirits now that he has been in harness for some years. He concludes by telling the audience that, in future,

> "He, like a seaman, seldom will appear,
> And means to trouble home but thrice a year;
> That only time from your gallants he'll borrow;
> Be kind to-day and cuckold him to-morrow."

Whence we must conclude that, previously to this date (1668), he had been bound, or had chosen, to write more than three plays a year for the company.* Again, in

* Four would appear to have been the number from a note, in the Key appended to an old edition of *The Rehearsal*, to a passage in Act. i., sc. 1, where Bayes (Dryden) says, in answer to a suggestion that he should revenge himself on his audience by writing for the "other house,"—"No, sir, there are certain ties upon me, that I cannot be disengaged from." The note is to the effect that Dryden, in 1668, contracted with the King's company, for one whole share, to write them four plays a year.

the epilogue to this play, he dolefully says of himself:

> "He still must write; and banquier-like, each day
> Accept new bills, and he must break or pay,"—

and advances his position in this respect as an excuse for borrowing his plots from others; for, he adds (extending the metaphor)—

> "When through his hands such sums must yearly run,
> You cannot think the stock is all his own."

The habit of gossiping about one's self leads, before long, to the less innocent tendency to gossip about one's self as contrasted with others; and we soon find the prologues and epilogues, in which this combative and vindictive spirit is uppermost, largely exceeding the apologetic and explanatory.* Notwithstanding the vehement special pleading of Gifford, there can be little doubt that Ben Jonson, in his prologues, often girded at Master Will Shakespeare, albeit in decently veiled allusions. It requires much faith to suppose that the "wit-combats" at the Mermaid between the heavy galleon and the light skiff, recalled by Fuller, were not reproduced on paper, in such lines as these, from the prologue to *Every Man in His Humour*, where Ben says, referring, doubtless, to his fellow-poet's *Henry V.* and other plays o'erleaping time and space, that he will not "serve the ill customs of the age" so far as

* So in the Roman comedy, as we have seen, we find the latter type of prologue largely predominating over the former, when we come to Terence, with his attacks (in self-justification, it must be admitted) on Luscius Lavinius, his rival-dramatist, and on other detractors from his merits.

> "To make a child, new swaddled, to proceed
> Man, and then shoot up, in one beard and weed,
> Past three-score years; or with three rusty swords,
> And help of some new foot-and-half-foot words,
> Fight over York and Lancaster's long jars,
> And in the tyring house bring wounds to scars,"—

or when, after comparing the aptness of his own humours, and of his own language (language "such as men do use"), with the chorus, creaking thrones, lightning-squibs, and drum-thunder of his unnamed rival, he expresses to the audience a hope, rather than an expectation, that "you, that have so graced monsters, may like men." So too, when, in the prologue to *Every Man out of His Humour*, Mitis asks Cordatus, "How comes it that in some one play we see so many seas, countries, and kingdoms passed over with such admirable dexterity?" and Cordatus sarcastically answers, "O, that but shows how well the authors can travel in their vocation, and outrun the apprehension of the auditory." Here the allusion is, no doubt, to a large class of dramatists, but the shaft was principally directed, we cannot help supposing, at the one man who towered above the herd. There is a similar side-thought in the prologue to *The Staple of News*, where he says of himself to the audience, "He'd have you wise, much rather by your ears than by your eyes." The monsters, fairies, sprites, demons, witches, and ghosts of the spectacular drama of the day, in which Shakespeare was especially prolific, come in here for condemnation. Nor do we think that these references to his rival were at all at variance with "the love which he ever bore the man when living," and

the admiration "on this side idolatry," which he professed for him when dead.*

The lower mob of playwrights are dealt with in other prologues by Ben Jonson in a far more contemptuous fashion. No one ever possessed a more copious vocabulary of invective, or drove a more biting quill, than hot-tempered old Ben. And in the prologues and epilogues, which are mostly very lengthy, he contrived to concentrate his venom, whether against rival playwrights, refractory players, or unsympathetic audiences. These denunciations are always mingled with a liberal measure of self-praise—in according which our dramatist was by no means nice or hesitating. Of the lesser playwriters, whom he should never have noticed, and who, no doubt, loved to sting their great competitor into furious onslaughts which for a moment levelled him down to their own rank, he speaks thus, in the person and savage language of Asper (prologue to *Every Man out of His Humour*):

> "O, how I hate the monstrousness of time,
> Where every servile imitating spirit,
> Plagued with an itching leprosy of wit,

* So the prologue to Ford's *Perkin Warbeck* seems to hint, with disapproval, at Shakespeare's free introduction of the clown (the "misshapen lout" attacked so bitterly in Hall's satires), though, on the other hand, Ford adopts the sentiment of the Chorus of *Henry V.*, in begging the spectators to help the poet to annihilate time and space:

> "We cannot limit scenes, for the whole land
> Itself appear'd too narrow to withstand
> Competitors for kingdoms; nor is here
> Unnecessary mirth forced, to endear
> A multitude," etc.

> In a mere halting fury, strives to fling
> His ulcerous body in the Thespian spring,
> And straight leaps forth a poet! but as lame
> As Vulcan, or the founder of Cripplegate."

But it is in *The Poetaster*,—a play specially levelled at Thomas Dekker, by no means a bad poet,—that we find the severest of Jonson's prologues, and the most vehement censure of "the conjuring means of base detractors, and illiterate apes," and of "that common spawn of ignorance, our fry of writers," whose sole endeavour, he alleged, was to "beslime his fame." Though at the end of the prologue the poet stoutly avows that "his mind it is above their injuries," it is only too evident from the tone of this and other recriminatory productions of the kind, that it was no such thing. Ben perversely determined to run a tilt against every class of person who might otherwise be disposed to favour him: fellow-wits, fellow-writers, and—worst of all—the players who performed his plays, together with the spectators, on whose applause, as long as he chose to write for the "loathed stage," which he afterwards so petulantly abandoned, he was of necessity dependent for his reputation. When he did not revile others, he so belauded himself as to disgust many a friend; and his famous "by God, 'tis good, and if you like it, you may" (~~prologue~~ to *Cynthia's Revels*) was remembered against him for a long time after the original utterance of the line. Conscious, indeed, of having provoked bitter criticism by these words, he half apologizes for them in this very prologue, but nevertheless shows his disposition to apply them once more to

The Poetaster; for after urging that this seeming pride is but "a well-erected confidence" on his part, he continues:

> "Here now, put 'case our author should *once more*
> *Swear that his play were good:* he doth implore
> You would not argue him of arrogance," etc.

That which chiefly excited Jonson's wrath was the thought that the hasty offsprings of miniature writers should be compared for a moment with his undoubtedly laborious and conscientious work. Unfortunately, audiences do not take into account the time and labour spent upon a play; but consider what it is when produced; and, if dull, with most serene composure they damn it. Now Ben was always a slow writer, a careful blotter, and an elaborator *ad unguem.* He continually alludes to this, notably in some fine lines in the epilogue to *The Poetaster*, succeeding those in which he declares that comedy having been so unkind to him, he will attempt the Tragic Muse—(a promise which resulted in *Sejanus*)

> "... once I'll essay
> To strike the ear of time in those fresh strains.
> As shall, besides the cunning of their ground,
> Give cause to some of wonder, some despite,
> And more despair, to imitate their sound.
> I, that spend half my nights, and all my days,
> Here in a cell to get a dark pale face,
> To come forth with the ivy or the bays,
> And in this age can hope no other grace—
> Leave me! There's something come into my thought,
> That must and shall be sung high and aloof,
> Safe from the wolf's black jaw, and the dull ass's hoof."

None the less is the poet careful to tell his audience

with some pride in the prologue to *The Fox* that that play "was two months since no feature," and that

> "Five weeks fully penned it,
> From his own hand, without a coadjutor,
> Novice, journeyman, or tutor."

And even so he confidently offers his critics "five lives to mend it," if they can.

But what about Thomas Dekker? Did he take these attacks in good part? By no means. Thomas Dekker had a lively wit no less than Ben Jonson, and no less store of pens, paper, and ink. He set to work, therefore, to indite that very caustic play, *Satiromastix, or, the Untrussing of the Humorous Poet*, a sustained onslaught, in which his acrid competitor is lashed under the name of Horace, and his ill-temper, his habit of satirizing and epigrammatizing friends who had entertained him in their houses, his envy, his failure as an actor, his quarrels with players, captains, cavaliers, and lawyers,* and his laborious and over-learned method of composition, are all made subjects of the keenest ridicule. All that Jonson had inflicted on Crispinus, Dekker repaid to Horace with interest in this play of *Satiromastix*. The last faint echoes of Dekker's revengeful outcry against his rival are discernible in the

* It was necessary to conciliate if possible all, but at all events some one or more of these various classes or "factions," as Richard Flecknoe calls them in the Introduction (or Induction) to his *Damoiselles à-la-Mode* (1667), one of the interlocutors in which asks: "But has he" (sc. the author) "any faction for him? Has he any to cry him up in court or town? else he'll be sure to be cryed down." Cf. Dryden (*Works* by Sir W. Scott), vol. vii., p. 143.

"epilogue spoken by Tucca," a swaggering captain, and a burlesque of a character of the same name which had first found a place in *The Poetaster*. "I recant," says Tucca, "bear witness all you gentlefolks that walk in the galleries—I recant the opinions which I held of courtiers, ladies, and citizens, when once in an assembly of friars" (that is, at the Blackfriars' Theatre, in Ben Jonson's *Poetaster*), "I railed upon them: *that heretical libertine Horace taught me so to mouth it.*" In conclusion he begs "his twopenny tenants" (the "scaffolders," or occupants of the gallery), "not to hiss the play, because in that case you blow away Horace's revenge, but if you set your hands and seals to this, Horace will write against it, and you may have more sport; he shall not lose his labour, he shall not turn his blank verses into waste paper. No, my poetasters will not laugh at him, but will untruss him again, and again, and again."

Ben Jonson was always the poet militant; he always had a grievance,—a rival to overcome, or a theory of play-writing to upset,—but far more often the former than the latter. In his prologues and epilogues we find a much stronger personal element than in those of Dryden, for instance (as we shall see presently), who, though always belligerent, usually carried on his offensive and defensive warfare in relation to theories and modes of literary workmanship, rather than for purposes of denouncing individuals and glorifying himself. Otway's prologues, on the other hand, were almost as full of spleen and personal spite

as those of Ben Jonson himself. Either would have done well to have imitated the reticence and modesty of Beaumont and Fletcher's addresses to the spectators, or of the graceful little epilogues of Ford, who scorned to rear "trophies to himself by other men's dispraise." Thus the epilogue to the latter's *Lover's Melancholy* (of the eight-line length usual with that author), speaks thus for the actors and the poet:

> "To be too confident is as unjust,
> In any work as too much to distrust;
> Who from the laws of study have not swerved,
> Know begged applauses never were deserved.
> We must submit to censure, so doth he,
> Whose hours begot this issue, yet, being free
> For his part, if he have not pleased you, then
> In this kind he'll not trouble you again."

So in the epilogue to *The False One* of Beaumont and Fletcher, who were also singularly free from bitter or, indeed, any references to rival authors, the speaker hints that he could say much for "ourselves, them" (the authors) "and the play, Did I not rest assured, the most I see Hate impudence, and cherish modesty." There is a touching tribute to Fletcher's memory in the lines prefixed by way of prologue to and spoken before the performance of his play of *The Elder Brother*, when revived after his death; and also in the prologue written by Shirley for the revival in 1633 of Fletcher's *Loyal Subject* (originally acted in 1618). So also we find genuine and hearty praise of Marlowe, when *The Jew of Malta* was revived after his death, in both the prologues written on that occasion,—the Court prologue

and the Stage prologue (*vid. inf.*). The praise of Ben Jonson in both the prologue and the epilogue to the Duke of Buckingham's *Rehearsal* is obviously introduced only to give scope for an attack on the contrasted methods of Dryden. And we may say the same of the lines written by Dorset for epilogue to a revival of Ben Jonson's *Every Man in His Humour*, where we have the ghost of Ben once more expressing contempt for his successors.

Dryden so far follows these excellent models, that he rarely relapses into *mere* self-praise.* Self-justification,

* One instance only can I find of unprovoked self-exaltation, and that is half-sportive in its tone. In the epilogue to *The Maiden Queen* (acted 1667, the play which Charles II. allowed to be called "*his* play," so highly did he approve of it), Nell Gwynne is made to say of "her client," whose cause she had undertaken to plead, that he

> ". . . defies
> The sharpest of his censurers to say,
> Where there is one gross fault in all his play.
> The language is so fitted for each part;
> The plot according to the rules of art," etc.

But then the epilogue (in the hands of Nell), afterwards proceeds to make fun of this "rant," as she calls it. Nell Gwynne, as prologue-speaker and pleader on behalf of "her client," reminds us of the many occasions on which Ambivius Turpio announced himself in prologues as "orator" on behalf of Terence against his rival Luscius Lavinius, whose "Theonine tooth" had exercised itself on some occasions in accusing the greater dramatist of pilfering his plots from the Greek comedy (see prologues to the *Andria*, *Eunuchus*, *Heautontimorumenos*, and *Adelphi*, avowing and justifying the alleged offence), on others in charging him with indebtedness to the older native comedians, such as Plautus (this is denied stoutly in the prologue to Terence's *Eunuchus*), or to noble contemporaries such as Lœlius and Scipio, who, it was insinuated, did not wish their names to be connected with the drama; on others again in ridiculing his bad style "tenuis oratio et scriptura levis," (this last charge is dealt with in the prologue to the *Phormio*). The charge of indebtedness to the "homines nobiles"—Lœlius and Scipio—is curious, both because it is the only one which is not distinctly or indignantly

it is true—vindication of his own theories and ridicule of those of other writers—he does constantly indulge in, but the setting himself up on a pedestal solely for the audience to gaze at was as little characteristic of his prologues as were wanton attacks on individuals, solely because they were rivals, and successful. Dryden, notwithstanding much that has been said to support such a view, had by no means a carping or envious spirit; while his addresses to the spectators are singularly devoid of animus against the writer, apart from his method of writing. From Ben Jonson, on the other hand, we scarcely ever get a coherent criticism of the methods of others; but we find (mingled with much personal abuse), now an attack on the spectacular element in the drama, now a satirical reflection on preternatural breaches of the Aristotelian rules, and now a complaint of the improper use of "humours." But he does not succeed in convincing us of the genuineness of his antipathy to any one of these literary methods and practices, whereas he does impress us most forcibly with the reality and heartiness

repudiated by Terence (see the hesitating answers contained in the prologues to the *Heautontimorumenos* and to the *Adelphi*, amounting almost to admissions of at least some assistance, unless we assume Terence's modesty to have been excessive), and because it recalls the eccentric ascription by two authors in recent times, Mr. Holmes and Lady Delia Bacon, of all Shakespeare's plays to the great philosopher, who, it is urged on similar grounds, did not wish his name to be identified with the stage. It is noteworthy that all these prologues of Terence are more justificatory and recriminative than wantonly aggressive. The only prologue that might possibly bear the character of ἐπιτιμητικός in the phrase of Evanthius, namely that to the *Andria*, he is careful to apologize for, as thinking that the introduction of this new form required some justification.

of the blows which he aims at the successful rival behind the method which that rival may have adopted. In the prologue to *The Magnetic Lady* we find, it is true, some strictures of an apparently non-personal character, where he complains that "most of those your people call authors, never dream of any decorum, or what is proper in the scene, but grope at it in the dark, and feel or fumble for it," and similarly in the prologue to the pastoral play of *The Sad Shepherd*, he criticises in general terms those who imagine that there is only one way of writing such a drama, and that

> "No style for pastoral should go
> Current, but what is stamped with *Ah!* and *Oh!*"

Such an author, he says:

> "Like poet yet remains, as those
> Are painters who can only make a rose."

This position, by the way, is amusingly inconsistent with his vehement objections on other occasions to any divergence on the part of others from the beaten track of the three Unities, and the Aristotelian canons; and would lead us to suppose that even here he is aiming at some such artist of pastoral masques as Inigo Jones, whom he elsewhere (epilogue to *The Tale of a Tub*) attacks with much violence under the name of "In-and-In," as giving increased importance to those optical effects, which Ben saw clearly would soon divert the sympathy and attention of audiences from the laboured wit which he employed himself, and from the stilted argumentation which appealed to the ear more than to the

eye, and to the mind more than either,—from, in fact, what he calls in one of his prologues, "the abstractest work Opposed to the stuffed nostrils of the drunken rout."

In Dryden's case, however, it is nearly always a theory which he has to support, or a theory which he has to knock down; and this appears both in the prefaces and in the prologues and epilogues to his plays. Indeed, the concrete images and concise couplets of the latter are but the sustained and abstract reasoning of the former in another shape, and "writ small."

No one ever changed his theories of dramatic composition more frequently than Dryden. He followed the shifting phases of the popular taste during his long life, but always lagged a little behind them. He clung to his old loves as long as he could, and then, when a decent interval of championship had intervened to satisfy the advocates of consistency, he abandoned them and took to the new. So puzzled was he by the fluctuating humours of his audiences that in one of his epilogues (that to *Aurengzebe*) he confesses that "his art's like physic, but a happy guess," while in another he tells us that by this time

> "... he knows
> There is a mode in plays, as well as clothes." *

* Thomas Middleton had used and developed this metaphor before Dryden, in the prefatory remarks addressed "To the Comic Play-Readers, Venery and Laughter," and prefixed to his play of *The Roaring Girl, or Moll Cut-Purse*. "The fashion of play-making," he there says, "I can compare to nothing so naturally as the alteration in apparel: for in the time of the Great Crop-doublet, your huge bombasted plays, quilted with mighty words to lean purpose, were only then in fashion. And as the

He tried to keep up with the spirit of his time, and, on the whole, gave most creditable evidences of his pliability in meeting its requirements. The rhyming plays, the heroic dramas, the tragi-comedies, the "love and honour" productions introduced by D'Avenant, the boisterous farces, the adaptations of Shakespeare, the lyrical plays, the importations from France and Spain—all these styles he, in turn, vigorously defended, till the cause was hopeless, and then proceeded to eat his words and renounce his favourite theories with the best grace he could command. But when he writes of himself in the above-mentioned epilogue:

> "Our poet writes an hundred years too soon,
> This age comes on too soon, or he too fast,"

he entirely mistakes his relation to the age. It was the age which was too fast for *him*, and which he followed *haud passibus æquis*.

Let us note for a moment how these shifting phases of literary taste are reflected in Dryden's prologues and epilogues. And first as to the rhymed drama. No one was more, or more excusably, addicted to the rhymed couplet than Dryden. It was the choicest weapon in his armoury, and the one with which he was most at home. He defended it in the most polished of his essays, and wrote the best of his plays for a considerable period of

doublet fell, neater inventions began to set up. Now, in the time of spruceness, our plays follow the niceness of our Garments,—single plots, quaint conceits, lecherous jests, drest up in hanging sleeves, and those are fit for the Times and the Termers: such a kind of light-colour summer stuff, mingled with divers colours, you shall find this published Comedy," etc.

his literary life in this style. Yet in the prologue to *Aurengzebe*, he at last admits that he "grows weary of his long-loved mistress, Rhyme," though one may suspect that it was not of "his mistress Rhyme" that he was weary, but of the continued opposition of society to what it considered a *liaison* of a discreditable character. "Let him retire," he pleads for himself to the audience, in lines which show that *here*, at all events, he appreciated his real position, "let him retire, betwixt two ages cast, The first of this and hindmost of the last." He did not retire, however, but lived to write much harder things of his "loved mistress" than he ventured to write in this farewell. In the prologue to *Limberham*, for instance, he has a hit at spectacular, heroic, farcical, and rhyming plays within the compass of three couplets:

> "True wit has seen its best days long ago,
> It ne'er looked up since we were dipt in show;
> When sense in doggrel rhymes and clouds was lost,
> And dulness flourished at the actor's cost.
> Nor stopped it here: when tragedy was done,
> Satire and humour the same fate have run,
> And comedy is sunk to trick and pun."

Yet, in bringing all these varieties of the drama to their then condition, no one had been more influential than Dryden himself; and all the modes which he here denounces had found in him, at one time or other, their most brilliant exponent.* In a later prologue, the Ghost of Shakespeare arises to condemn the age which could

* Except, indeed, that he did not use "the fulsome clench," as he calls the pun in the prologue to *Troilus and Cressida*, as adapted by him.

produce no "successors to his name," and poor Rhyme comes in for more rebuke:

> "Weak short-lived issues of a feeble age,
> Scarce living to be christened on the stage!
> For humour farce, for love they rhyme dispense,
> That tolls the knell for their departed sense."

In such lines as these we find evidences of Dryden's wonderful facility of recantation and renunciation: a facility which cost him dear at the hands of rival wits, such as Tom Brown. Dryden had the courage to be inconsistent, and to change his opinions when he saw them to be untenable, and his methods when he saw them to be unsuitable to the age. He was honest in all probability in his successive surrender of long-held convictions; but such honesty, such consistency in inconsistency, has always been open to misconstruction. He was always recanting: he recanted in politics, he recanted in religion, but most of all he recanted in literature. Rhyme, of his intended abandonment of which he gave notice in the address preceding the play of *Aurengzebe*, he did in fact abandon in the play which he wrote next after it, namely, *All for Love*, in the prologue to which he announces regretfully of "our poet," that he

> "Gives himself for gone; you've watched your time:
> He fights this day unarmed, without his rhyme." *

* In his long advocacy of rhyming plays, Dryden was opposing himself to a current which had begun to set in even with Marlowe, and shows himself, perhaps, to have been more behind his age in this respect than in any other. Marlowe, who had rather a Jonsonian way of hitting out at his competitors, says in the prologue to *Tamburlaine the Great:*

> "From jigging veins of *rhyming* mother-wit,
> And such conceits as clownage keeps in pay,
> We'll lead you to the stately tent of war."

So also of the famous "love and honour" style of play, with its stilted sentiment, and subtle disputations on motives; no one had used it more extravagantly than "Glorious John": yet, when he saw that it would no longer do, he contemptuously put it aside, and called that which had provided motive and material for so many of his plays, "dull honour, all that chaff, which . . . makes the vulgar laugh." These words are from the prologue to the first part of *The Conquest of Granada*, a play itself by no means deficient in this same "dull honour" element; but it was characteristic of Dryden to give a warning note of recantation, before he actually and publicly recanted.

Then, again, who more skilful in adopting French form, and Spanish matter, than Dryden? And who more sturdy, at one period of his career, in defending either mode of procedure? He began his theatrical life by a play based on a Spanish foundation, *The Wild Gallant*, though the Second Astrologer in the prologue regrets "the author's lot, To be endangered by a Spanish plot." And the French wit and literary form, lending itself so easily to antithesis, repartee, and rhymed couplets, we have seen that he followed at first with the utmost enthusiasm. Yet in his epilogue to his adaptation of *The Tempest*, he speaks with contempt both of the form and matter thus imported from over seas:

> "Among the muses there's a general rot,
> The *rhyming Monsieur and the Spanish Plot.*"

But in regard to adaptations, Dryden, it must be

admitted, always maintained his perfect right to take material wherever it was to be found, and claimed that whatever good there was in the plays which he had so adapted, came from the adapter's mind, and not from the material with which he worked. To those who shrieked out that he stole his plots, he was fond of quoting Charles the Second's observation to a caviller, that "he wished he or anybody else would steal plots half as well."

This charge has been brought, at various times, against all English dramatists from Shakespeare * to Tom Taylor, and, as years go on, is more and more difficult to prove, if true, or to refute, if untrue. Greene, we know, called Shakespeare an "upstart crow, beautified with the feathers of others"; and Fletcher had to meet similar attacks in his prologue to *The False One:*

> "New titles warrant not a play for new,
> The subject being old; and 'tis as true,
> Fresh and neat matter may with ease be framed
> Out of those stories, that have oft been named
> With glory on the stage; what borrows he
> From him that wrote old Priam's tragedy,
> That writes his love to Hecuba?"

* We may here refer to the continuous attacks on Terence and the insinuations of Lavinius that he was a thief and not a poet ("furem non poetam fabulam dedisse"). The poet defends himself in the prologue to the *Andria* against the charge of stealing from the Greek: that he took plots, he avows, but not the expressions and style. Nævius, Ennius, and Plautus took Greek plots before him, and he was content to be called a plagiarist in their company. In the prologue to the *Eunuchus* he defends himself against the charge of having taken his plots from Nævius and Plautus. If the plots were similar, they were not so to his knowledge. Ignorance ("imprudentia") was the cause, he says, and appeals to the spectators. As for the Greek plots, he admits here again, as in the prologue to the *Heautontimorumenos*, that he took them, and justifiably took them.

So too Ford, in the prologue to *The Lover's Melancholy*, says that, "in the following scenes he doth not owe to others' fancies," but in composing the play, has only asserted "the right a scholar claims," that is, the right expressed in the oft-quoted phrase, *je prends mon bien où je le trouve.* Apparently others had exceeded this right; for Ford, contrary to his usual practice, goes out of his way to add to the above suggestive lines:

> "It is art's scorn, that some of late have made
> The noble use of poetry a trade."

Dryden's most vigorous championship of his habit of "conveying" or utilizing foreign material is to be found in the epilogue to *The Mock Astrologer* (founded on *Le Feint Astrologue* of Corneille, which was itself an adaptation of Calderon's *El Astrologo Fingido*), in writing which he had borrowed from both the happy hunting-grounds of English dramatists, France and Spain. The speaker of the epilogue says that, "his part being small," he has had time "to mark the various censures" on the play. "Among the rest," he had noted a certain knot of critics who "kept a fearful stir, in whispering that he" (the poet) "stole the Astrologer." And then

> "Up starts a Monsieur, new come o'er, and warm
> In the French stoop, and pull back o' the arm;
> *Morblcu, dit il*, and cocks, I am a rogue,
> But he has quite spoil'd the feigned *Astrologue*."

The poet, when asked what excuse he could invent for all this,

". . . most unlike an author, vow'd 'twas true ;
Yet said, he used the French like enemies,
And did not steal their plots, but made them prize."

Not a very handsome "confession and avoidance" this; and still less generous is his extension of the metaphor:

"But should he all the pains and charges count
Of taking them, the bill so high would mount,
That, like prize-goods, which through the office come,
He could have had them much more cheap at home."

Something like this recriminating plea, we fancy, has been not uncommon among our adapters of late years. Such as it was, Dryden would never give it up. Ravenscroft, in the prologue to *Scaramouch*, borrowing from French and Italian sources, was more generous: "like but the play," he says, "let others have the name; Let both French and Italian share the fame." *

When, however, Shakespeare or some other great English dramatist of a past age came under his tinkering hand, it must be admitted that Dryden devoted the happiest conceits and neatest couplets of his prologues to his praise and honour (witness the beautiful prologues to the adaptation of *The Tempest* and of *Troilus and Cres-*

* In his Preface to the play of *Don Sebastian*, Dryden expounds and defends philosophically his principles of "making prize" of plots. "It is the contrivance, the new turn, new characters, which alter the property, and make it ours. The *materia poetica* is as common to all writers, as the *materia medica* to all physicians." He adds that "the ancients were accused of being plagiarists." Terence was, as we have seen, and, like Dryden, urges (in the prologue to the *Eunuchus*), that the characters of slave, parasite, whore, irascible old man, pimp, soldier, etc., were common property.

sida), so much so that he left himself little justification for his alterations.* Dryden's renunciations of successive methods of play-writing were due, it is to be feared, in some cases not so much to argument or internal persuasion, as to the pressure of the multitude that gathered within the playhouse walls. *Populus vult decipi: decipiatur.* He changed his methods in accordance with its views: and then, in some prologue or preface, summoned up from his inner consciousness, with a facility peculiar to him alone, casuistical reasons for the change, just sufficient to hold water with the critics of literature as opposed to the critics of the stage. In the prologue to *The Rival Ladies*, he contemptuously and candidly tells his audience as much:

> "You now have habits, dances, scenes, and rhymes;
> High language often, ay, and sense sometimes.
> As for a clear contrivance, doubt it not;
> They blow out candles to give light to the plot.
> And for surprise, two bloody-minded men
> Fight till they die, then rise and dance again.
> Such deep intrigues you're welcome to this day:
> But blame yourselves, not him who writ the play.
> Though his plot's dull, as can be well desired,
> Wit stiff as any you have ere admired;
> He's bound to please, not to write well."

One more instance of the discrepancy between Dryden's real tastes and his practice. When the Italian opera first attempted to gain a foothold in this country, bitter

* "For" as the Duke of Buckingham says in one of his prologues, "if ill writing be a folly thought, Correcting ill is sure a greater fault." Tate, in the prologue to his adaptation of *Coriolanus*, claims to "make gold from ore, And turn to money what lay dead before,"—or, in other words, to have "invested the play with artistic merit."

was the indignation of dramatists, managers, actors, and critics at the innovation. John Dennis thundered at it in the prologues to his *Iphigenia*, and to his *Liberty Asserted;* scoffed at it as emasculating, and called on true "Britons" not to endure the masquerading of a foreign crowd within the walls of their playhouses. Dryden caught up the cry which, commenced by Downes, in his *Roscius Anglicanus*, and Wright, in his *Historia Histrionica*, was echoed in later times by Colley Cibber, and afterwards again by Fielding. Yet Dryden's most savage lines against the opera are to be found, where?—in the prologue *to an opera, Albion and Albanius*, written by Dryden himself, and sulkily flung at the heads of the audience. This is what he says:

> "We now prescribe, like doctors in despair,
> The diet your weak appetite can bear.
> Since hearty beef and mutton will not do,
> Here's julep-*dance*, ptisan of *song and show;*
> Give you strong sense, the liquor is too heady.
> You're come to farce—that's asses milk—already.
> Some hopeful youths there are, of callow wit,
> Who one day may be men, if heaven think fit;
> Sound may serve such, ere they to sense are grown,
> Like leading-strings till they can walk alone."

Yet, who had not followed only, but led, the popular taste in this direction, if not Dryden himself, by such semi-operatic entertainments, as he admits (in the preface to *Albion and Albanius*) his reconstruction of Shakespeare's *Tempest* to have been?

There was yet another recantation, and that the most important and famous of all, which Dryden made

in the autumn of his career. But here—though no doubt the changing tastes of the people, as well as his own consciousness of the poet's true vocation, awakened by the lashes of Jeremy Collier, gave the impulse—the recantation bears evident marks of genuineness. He "pleaded guilty to all thoughts and expressions, which could be truly argued of obscenity, profaneness, or immorality." He continues: "If he" (Mr. Collier) "be my enemy, let him triumph; if he be my friend, as I have given him no personal occasion to be otherwise, he will be glad of my repentance. It becomes me not to draw my pen in the defence of a bad cause, when I have so often drawn it for a good one."

But Sir Richard Blackmore, who, in his *Satire Against Wit*, had also attacked Dryden on the score of the obscenity and profanity of his dramas, was not to escape so easily; and "Quack Maurus," in the prologue to *The Pilgrim*, is assailed with some of the most biting shafts from the veteran poet's armoury of wit. Some verses in the "State Poems," quoted in Sir W. Scott's edition of Dryden, refer to this discomfiture of Blackmore, contrasting it with Jeremy Collier's triumph:

> "John Dryden enemies had three,
> Sir Dick, old Nick, and Jeremy;
> The doughty knight was forced to yield,
> The other two have kept the field;
> But had his life been something holier,
> He'd foiled the Devil and the Collier."

We have yet to notice the references in the prologues of our earlier dramatists to the state of the theatres in

which their plays were produced, to the introduction of various reforms in the externals of the stage, to the poets' quarrels with actors, and to the social movements of the time. These subjects may conveniently form the material of our next chapter.

CHAPTER III.

Epilogues depart from their primitive intention—*The Rehearsal* on the prologues and epilogues of "Poet Bayes"—Prologues acquire an independent status—Prologues printed separately —Prologues reviling the actors—Ben Jonson and the actors of his plays—Ravenscroft—Dryden's and Massinger's indulgence to the players, as expressed in their prologues—Heywood's prologue on Marlowe and "sweet Ned Alleyn"—The revival of *The Jew of Malta*—Audiences as subjects of prologues—Massinger's deference to them—Ben Jonson's contempt and vilificatory prologues — George Peele — Dryden's view: "A civil prologue is approved by no man"—His open abuse of his audience's ignorance and want of taste—Various classes of playgoers ridiculed and denounced in prologues of Ben Jonson, Jasper Mayne, and Dryden—The "Hectors of the pit"—The "tavern-wits"—The "civet-wit"—"Tom Dove's brotherhood"—Abuse of the censors and critics ; of the coldly applauding gallants—Appeals to the "judging few"—Professional damnation of plays—Denunciation of "prattlers" in the audience—Critics compared by Dryden in various prologues to thieves turned hangmen ; to butchers excluded from a jury ; to scriveners ; to wolves ; to bankrupt gamesters ; to vultures ; to fleas ; to locusts ; and to whips—Middleton and Heywood on critics—"Court bespeaks"—Prologues at court : "to the King and Queen"—Heywood, Jasper Mayne, and Massinger's prologues and epilogues "at Whitehall"—The "town" and "the city" contrasted in prologues ; also London and the Universities—Dryden and Oxford audiences : "Oxford to him a dearer name shall be, than his own mother-university" —The "Athenian judges."

IT has already been shown how soon the simple uses of the Prologue and Epilogue came to be abandoned in order to make way for more complex and subtle devices: and how the dramatists discovered what excellent opportunities these addresses to the audience afforded of introducing their pet hobbies, or venting private spleen. The old form of prayer, in which the applause of the spectators, or—as in the epilogue to Beaumont and Fletcher's *Elder Brother*,*—not applause only, but frequent visit, were frankly invited, men in time voted "something musty;" as early, in fact, as the date of *The Humorous Lieutenant*, by these same authors, we find the speaker of the prologue evincing a manifest inclination to disburden himself of the well-worn style:

> "Would some one would instruct me what to say!
> For this same Prologue, usual to a play
> Is tied to such an old form of Petition."

So in the epilogue to *The Custom of the Country*, Beaumont and Fletcher complain that here too, the "old form" has been done to death; and even add:

> "Why there should be an epilogue to a Play,
> I know no cause: the old and usual way
> For which they were made, was to entreat the grace
> Of such as were spectators"—

or, as Hieronimo says in *The Spanish Tragedy* (when coming forward to reveal the dead body of his son,

* Which concludes:

> "Shew your loves and liking to his" (the author's) "wit,
> Not in your praise, but by oft seeing it;
> That being the grand assurance that can give
> The poet and the player means to live."

instead of delivering the customary address to the Court), "to excuse gross errors in the play." Similar complaints are made by Shakespeare in the epilogue to *As You Like It*, and by Massinger in that to *A Very Woman*. The "old and usual way" is clearly in Shakespeare's mind, when he makes Theseus in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* say to the "rude mechanicals" who, after their play is done, suggest an epilogue: "No epilogue I pray you; *for your play needs no excuse*. Never excuse; for when the players are all dead, there need none to be blamed." (Act v. sc. 1.) In *The Little French Lawyer* the speaker of the prologue plainly discards the ancient types both of prologue and epilogue in the words:

> "To promise much, before a Play begin,
> And, when 'tis done, ask Pardon, were a sin
> We'll not be guilty of."

To the very first of our dramatists, then, and to them only may we apply the words of Shakespeare in *All's Well that Ends Well*,—"thus he his special nothing ever prologues." By the time of Dryden the "special nothing" had become a "special something"—so special indeed, and so devoid of any necessary relation to the drama of which it was ostensibly the forerunner, that, in *The Rehearsal*, the prologues and epilogues of this poet are made the subject of particular ridicule. "Bayes" (Dryden) is introduced by the author, or rather authors, of this witty burlesque, as inviting the criticisms of Smith and Johnson, two visitors to the theatre on the occasion of the rehearsals of his new play. Bayes

begins at the beginning, and first of all submits his prologue to the judgment of his friends.

"*Bayes.* Now, gentlemen, I would fain ask your opinion of one thing. I have made a Prologue and an Epilogue, which may both serve for either: that is, the prologue for the epilogue, or the epilogue for the prologue; (do you mark?) *nay, they may both serve too, 'egad for any other play as well as this.*

Smith. Very well. That's, indeed, artificial.

Bayes. And I would fain ask your judgment, now, which of them would do best for the Prologue? For, you must know, there is, in nature, but two ways of making very good prologues. The one is by civility, by insinuation, by good language, and all that, to—a—in a manner, steal your plaudit from the courtesy of the auditors: the other, *by making use of some certain personal things*, which may keep a hank upon such censuring persons, as cannot otherwise, 'egad, in nature be hindered from being too free with their tongues."

The complimentary species of invocation is rare indeed in Dryden: and, except in the prologue to *The Indian Queen* and in some of the addresses prefixed to plays acted before the University of Oxford, "civility, insinuation, and good language" were conspicuous by their absence. "To make use of some certain personal things," was, as we shall see, a course which fell in more with the usual mood of Poet Bayes. And what is said in the above-quoted passage as to Dryden's prologues being equally applicable to any play is, as regards some of them at least, not very wide of the mark. "Probably upon several occasions," says Sir W. Scott, "he actually transferred the same prologue from one new play to another. Thus he reclaimed, from his adversary Shadwell's play of *The True Widow*, the prologue which he had furnished, and affixed it to *The Widow Ranter* of Mrs. Behn. Sometimes also he laid under contribution

former publications of his own, which he supposed to be forgotten, in order to furnish out one of these theatrical prefaces. Thus the satire against the Dutch furnishes the principal part of the prologue and epilogue to *Amboyna*."

Thus the prologue and the drama, though nominally married, had in Dryden's time separated by mutual consent: and this separation was both evidenced and encouraged by the growing practice of printing the addresses to the audience on detached sheets or broadsides, and selling them at the entrances of the theatres. So independent indeed had the prologue become of its former lord and master, and so doubtful a question was it, whether it or "the play" was then to be accounted "the thing," that even Dryden, though himself a liberal contributor to the then state of things, notices with a contemptuous sniff the degradation of the drama implied in this disproportionate exaltation of the heretofore "weaker vessel." In the prologue to *The Rival Ladies*, he contrasts the old relations between the pair with those obtaining in his time:

> ". . . in former days
> Good prologues were as scarce as now good plays,
> For the reforming poets of our age
> In this first charge, spend their poetic rage.
> Expect no more when once the prologue's done;
> The wit is ended ere the play's begun."

In course of time, even the witty tricks and novelties of the restoration prologues became antiquated, and just as, long before the date of the seventeenth-century dramatists, we find Beaumont and Fletcher complaining

of the "old form of petition" which characterized the "theatrical prefaces" of Marlowe and Shakespeare, and hankering after novelties; so, when we reach Fielding, we find these same novelties, so fascinating to the audiences of "the King's house," becoming in their turn wearisome and played out.* But—lest we should stray beyond our present limits—we will say no more of this later epoch, but proceed to examine how the dramatists from Ben Jonson onward came to make more and more liberal "use of some certain personal things," as Bayes has it, to enhance the attractiveness of their prologues,—an attractiveness which at all events custom did not stale within the period at present under consideration.

Ben Jonson, the first of the thoroughly militant prologue-writers, waged war, as we have seen, against rival

* In the prologue to *The Debauchees, or the Jesuit Caught* (1732), Fielding specially alludes to the Dryden style of prologue, ridiculed in *The Rehearsal*, and pronounces it tedious and unfitted for the times. He begins:

> "I wish with all my heart, the stage and town
> Would both agree to cry all prologues down,
> That we, no more obliged to say or sing,
> Might drop this useless, necessary thing."

Then, after enumerating the kinds of "stuff the poets make us deal in" and the "old worn-out jokes of their retailing," he proceeds:

> "Perhaps, for change, yes, now and then, by fits,
> We're told that critics are the bane of wits;
> How they turn vampires, being dead and damned,
> And with the blood of living bards are crammed.
> * * * * *
> Thus modern bards, like Bayes, their prologues frame,
> For this and that and every play the same,
> Which you most justly neither praise nor blame," etc.

authors, players, and even audiences. Of the anti-rival-author species of prologue we have already said something. The remaining classes, in which the very men on whom the dramatist is dependent for the success of his plays are boldly and even rancorously denounced and ridiculed, are less easy of explanation. Dryden deliberately bullied audiences, we know, on grounds of policy: but Ben Jonson bullied the players in his prologues and epilogues because, we fancy, he could not help it: his atrabilious humour so willed it; or rather, if the poet could have seen himself as others saw him, he would have been compelled to offer the more candid and apologetic explanation of a modern writer,—"son Altesse ma Vanité ainsi le veut." In the prologue to *The Poetaster*, he makes Envy inquire whether there were "no players" to help to "damn the author," and so forward her sinister designs. "They," she says:

> "... could wrest,
> Pervert, and poison all they hear or see,
> With senseless glosses, and allusions."

And so keenly was Jonson smarting at this time under supposed injuries at the hands of actors, that the opening scene of the play itself, so to speak, tastes of the prologue; especially the lines in which "Ovid senior," the lawyer, reproaches "Ovid junior," the poet, for his neglect of his legal studies and addiction to the drama. "Yes, sir," exclaims this very "heavy father" to his refractory son, "I hear of a tragedy of yours coming forth for the common players;" and then follows a long tirade against the said "common players," in which the still

more philistine Tucca joins. "Ovid junior" hastens to protest in dignified language:

> "I am not known unto the open stage,
> Nor do I traffic in their theatres:"

though he admits that he has written a tragedy for the private perusal of some "near friends, and honourable Romans." It is obvious that this was the proud position which Jonson would himself have wished to occupy—a position in which all actors might with impunity have been defied—were it not for the necessity laid upon him by that powerful stimulus, "negatas artifex sequi voces," spoken of by Persius. The extraordinary thing in his case is that, deeming it worth while to write for the "common players" at all, he should have thought it not impolitic to abuse them on every possible occasion, both in the spoken prologues and dialogue of his plays, and in the various printed additions, by way of preface or justification, which he appended to them. For instance, in committing one of his unsuccessful plays to the press, he enlarges the title in the following burlesque epigraph, significant of the resentment which he cherished against both actors and audiences: "As it was never acted, but most negligently played by some, the King's servants, and more squeamishly beheld and censured by others, the King's subjects." The dispassionate critic cannot but suspect that there is something wrong with an author who attributes the ill fortune of his drama to a conspiracy of audience and performers. It is then admitted to be a case of all the world against the poet: and in such a contest it is difficult to persuade the world that it is wrong.

As may be supposed, no author but Ben Jonson has been found bold enough to put into the mouth of an actor a prologue directly vilifying his company and their profession. In later times, we find, it is true, occasional complaints of the excessive approbation bestowed on the actors to the neglect of the poet who wrote the words for them: thus Ravenscroft in the prologue to his much-derided *Scaramouch* * "a comedy after the Italian manner," founded on Molière's plays, *The Forced Marriage* and *Scapin*, gives this circumstance as the apology for his having struck out a new line of his own:

> "The poet does a dangerous trial make,
> And all the common roads of plays forsake.
> *Upon the actors it depends too much.*
> * * * * *
> He rather chose in new attempts to fail,
> Than in the old indifferently prevail."

But not even Dryden ever became so infatuated and violent as to cast aspersions on the performers at the King's theatre, though he may have sometimes thought that (where his efforts failed) the failure was due in some degree to the acting. He seems, indeed, to have been on the whole very indulgent to the players, though not so to critics, audiences, and rival authors; and the only instance which I can find of his even privately hinting at incompetency of representation, and then in a

* But Heywood, the dramatist, in the Epilogue to the Court, on the revival of Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*, allows the actors to disclaim any share of responsibility in anything that may have gone wrong:

> "And if aught here offend your ear and sight,
> We only act and speak what others write."

by no means positive manner, is in the dedication of his *Assignation* (a signal failure) to Sir Charles Sedley, where he writes very fairly and sensibly as to the causes of its unfavourable reception: "It succeeded ill in the representation, against the opinion of many of the best judges of our age, to whom you know I read it, ere it was presented publicly. *Whether the fault was in the play itself, or in the lameness of the action,* or in the number of its enemies, who came resolved to damn it for its title,"—(a curious suspicion this, which finds a place also in the epilogue to the play: "Some thought the title of our play to blame; they liked the thing but yet abhorred the name")—"I will not dispute. That would be too like the little satisfaction which an unlucky gamester finds in the relation of every cast by which he came to lose his money."* Pre-eminent in "the number of enemies" to this unlucky drama was that Ravenscroft whose Oriental dramas were so derided in its prologue; and who, in one of his own prologues (viz. that to *The Careless Lovers*, produced shortly after *The Assignation*) takes occasion to exult over his great rival's discomfiture, attributing it rather to demerits of the play

* One remarkable instance to the contrary is furnished, not by any prologue or epilogue to a play, but in his epistle to Granville, on the latter's play of *Heroic Love* (acted in 1698). The following passage of this letter offended the actors, especially Powell, who retorted in print (see Scott's *Dryden*, vol. i., p. 412, and vol. xi., p. 65):

> "Our sense is nonsense, through their" (the actors') "pipe conveyed;
> Scarce can a poet know the play he made
> 'Tis so disguised in death. . . .
> Thus Itys first was killed, and after dressed
> For his own sire, the chief invited guest."

itself, than to the "lameness of the action," except in so far as the latter was consequent on the former:

> "In fine, the whole by you so much was blamed,
> To act their parts, the players were ashamed."

The Duke of Buckingham, however, would make us believe that Dryden was not on such good terms with the players as might be supposed from these prologues and epilogues, but was in the habit of hectoring it over them in private, however much he may have appeared to respect them in public. In the last scene of *The Rehearsal*, when the stage-keeper announces that "the players are gone to dinner," after some hours' hard work at their business, the rage of Bayes knows no bounds. "How!" he exclaims, "are the players gone to dinner? 'Tis impossible . . . 'Egad, if they are, I'll make them know what it is to injure a person who does them the honour to write for them, and all that. A company of proud, conceited, humorous, cross-grained persons, and all that. 'Egad I'll make them the most contemptible, despicable, inconsiderable persons, and all that, in the whole world, for this trick." He then threatens "to lampoon" them, and to sell his play to the other house (the Duke of York's theatre), "and so farewell," he concludes in high dudgeon, "to this stage, 'egad, for ever." In the prologue to the *Phormio* of Terence, the actors are indirectly complimented by a suggestion that a certain play of a rival dramatist succeeded by virtue of their efforts only, and in spite of the inefficient authorship.

But whatever Dryden's private opinion may have

been as to the acting of his plays, he was judicious enough to conceal it in his public addresses to the audience, if he did not go so far as to associate, after the manner of the Elizabethan dramatists, the players with the author as co-partners in the success or failure of the play. Thus the modest Shakespeare couples "author's pen" and "actor's voice," in his prologue to *Troilus and Cressida*, as having like potency, under ordinary circumstances, to inspire the confidence of the prologue-speaker; and in the induction to *The Taming of the Shrew*, the players there appearing, and their vocation, are spoken of as kindly and genially as in the well-known scene in *Hamlet;* though Pope, in his preface to Shakespeare, brings forward their entertainment "in the buttery," forsooth, as evidence of the poet's contempt for the actor's art. Luckily Shakespeare did not, if the writers of Queen Anne's time did, judge men through the official spectacles of a *maître des céremonies*, or according to the seats at table which they occupied. In Plautus's time the actors of the poet's company are sometimes referred to in very familiar, but scarcely respectful, terms, *e.g.* in the epilogue to the *Cistellaria*, a whipping is jocularly held out as the punishment of a bad, and a drink as the reward of a good, performance: "Qui deliquit vapulabit, qui non deliquit, bibet."

The interests of the two branches of the dramatic art are similarly identified by Massinger in his epilogue to *A New Way to Pay Old Debts;* "nor we," Wellborn says of himself and fellow-players,—

". . . nor we
Nor he that wrote the comedy, can be free
Without your manumission ; which if you
Grant willingly, as a fair favour due
To the poet's, and our labours (as you may,
For we despair not, gentlemen, of the play) :
We jointly shall profess your grace hath might
To teach us action, and him how to write." *

It is clear that Massinger recognized the "creation" of a *rôle*, in more senses than one; and that, though he could not use the modern term, in that French sense which has recently given risen to some controversy, he none the less appreciated the fact. Another epilogue of this dramatist cannot be passed over in this connection, —that to his play of *The Emperor of the East*, which not only places once more the poet and the actor in friendly juxtaposition, but throughout pays a cordial and graceful tribute to the apparently youthful and untried performer of the principal part, only mentioning the author in the last line. A doubt is expressed whether "he, on whom . . . the maker did confer his Emperor's part" had "given" the audience "satisfaction in his art of action and delivery."

". . . 'tis sure truth,
The burthen was too heavy for his youth
To undergo ;—but, in his will, we know
He was not wanting, and shall ever owe,

* Double responsibility is recognized by Middleton, in the epilogue to the *The Roaring Girl* (concluding lines)—

"Yet for such faults as either the writer's wit
Or negligence of the actors, do commit
Both crave your pardons : if what both have done
Cannot full pay your expectation."

With his, our service, if your favours deign
To give him strength hereafter to sustain
A greater weight. It is your grace that can
In your allowance of this, write him man
Before his time; which if you please to do,
You make the player and the poet too."

Very different in tone were such utterances as these to the lines in which Ben Jonson loved to proclaim his contemptuous isolation from those who at least gave life and form to his creations. Nor did the dramatists of the Elizabethan era, as a rule, praise only the actors who took their own parts to the disparagement of the players of bygone times or rival houses. When Marlowe's favourite play of *The Jew of Malta*, which originally furnished Ned Alleyn with his most famous part, was revived at the Cockpit, Perkins was entrusted with the *rôle* of Barabbas, Alleyn being then dead. The "prologue to the Stage," though encouraging Perkins, does not attempt in any way to decry the merits of "sweet Ned," whom even Ben Jonson could not but commend in choicest verse, or to "damn with faint praise" either the past creator, or the original exponent of "the Jew." Says Heywood, who revived the play:

"We know not how our play may pass this stage.
But by the best of poets in that age
The Malta-Jew had being and was made:
And he then by the best of actors played.
In Hero and Leander one * did gain
A lasting memory, in Tamburlaine,
This Jew, with others many: th' other † won
The attribute of peerless, being a man
Whom we may rank with (doing no one wrong)
Proteus for shapes, and Roscius for a tongue;

* Marlowe. † Alleyn.

So could he speak, so vary: nor is't hate
To merit in him * who doth personate
Our Jew this day: nor is't his ambition
To exceed, or equal; being of condition
More modest: this is all that he intends,
(And that too at the urgence of some friends),
To prove his best, and, if none here gainsay it,
The part he hath studied, and intends to play it. †
In graving with Pygmalion to contend,
Or painting with Apelles, doubtless the end
Must be disgrace: our actor did not so:
He only aimed to go, but not outgo.
* * * * *
All the ambition that his mind does swell,
Is but to hear from you (by me) 'twas well."

The only occasion on which Plautus refers in prologue or epilogue to any special actor, is in the "theatrical preface" to the *Amphitryo*. The prologue-speaker there (evidently fearing a tumult of the Forrest and Macready, or Kean and Booth type) begs the audience not to factiously support any one actor against any other. (He is evidently referring to some particular individual, though he does not name him.) Let there be no attempt in the "cavea" (or pit) to cry up any one player; but let every person, in theatrical as in higher walks of life, win his spurs by merit. A good protest against the claque-system is neatly expressed in the lines:

"Eadem histrioni sit lex quæ summis viris:
Virtute ambire oportet non fautoribus;
Sed habet fautores semper, qui rectè facit."

Shakespeare, as far as I know, refers by name to no past or present actor of any of his characters, either for praise or for blame, in his prologues and epilogues. This

* Richard Perkins.

† The same strain is apparent in the Epilogue to the Stage.

abstinence was in keeping with his courteous attitude both to his audiences and to his brother-dramatists. The practice of making allusions to players of rival houses was commenced by Dryden, who, in a prologue already cited, makes Nell Gywnne compare the broad brim of her hat with that of Nokes at "t'other house." The reference here is by no means an unkindly one; and, in fact, Dryden had formerly been under the greatest obligations to this comedian (the object of Colley Cibber's so fervent admiration), for having played, when he belonged to the Duke's house, the character of Sir Martin Mar-all, which the poet had expressly written for him, in a manner to evoke the enthusiasm of all the critics of the day, and insure the success of the comedy. Davies, in his *Dramatic Miscellanies*, fancies that he can detect a vindictive glance at Haines (a comedian whom we have already noticed as specially identified with the delivery of extraordinary and sensational prologues) in the conclusion of Dryden's epilogue to *The Pilgrim:*

> "But neither you nor me, with all our pains
> Can make clean work; there will be some remains,
> While you have still your Oates, and we our Haines."

The reason, which Davies assigns for this opinion, is the very oddest imaginable. He thinks that Tom Brown, in penning the clever dialogue between "Poet Squab" (Dryden) and Haines, comparing notes on their respective feats of recantation, had bitterly offended the laureate (which is not improbable); and that thereupon Dryden revenged himself, not on Tom Brown, but on

the unoffending Haines, who was not responsible for the base literary uses to which his name had been put by the satirist. This, we think, *is* improbable; especially considering the number of the poet's characters which Haines had filled, and of the poet's prologues (such as that to *The Assignation*, and several other plays) which he had spoken. Probably poor Haines was necessary to turn the couplet, supply the rhyme, and point the antithesis: and he was accordingly sacrificed to the necessities of the occasion.

We now approach what necessarily formed the largest element in the *farrago* of which the average prologue or epilogue of the Elizabethan and Restoration periods was compounded; that is, the reflections on the audiences, on their tastes, and on their critical ability. Here the contrast between the earlier and the later epoch is very marked. In the days of Elizabeth, abuse of audiences was confined to the prologues and epilogues of Ben Jonson and a few others of his kidney: in Dryden's time, it was normal and habitual, and the spectators would almost have been surprised to find themselves treated otherwise.

The grave modesty and urbane deference to the public voice which distinguished the prologues of Massinger;* and the quiet spirit of true courtesy—as far

* Compare especially the Prologues to *The Guardian* and *The Bashful Lover*. From the former of these, it would appear that Massinger, for some reason, had lost reputation before the date of the play which it preceded, on account of his having produced nothing for so long a time, and that certain envious persons had gone about spreading the report that the author had written himself out. The poet, therefore, in this prologue expresses a hope that he may prove that he can yet write a play.

removed from grovelling self-abasement as from hectoring self-assertion—which pervaded (to take the most notable instances) the prologue to Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, or the epilogues to his second part of *Henry IV.* and *As You Like It*,—these were quite alien to the mental habit of that combatant dramatist, Ben Jonson, who cannot at any rate be accused of milk-and-water appeals to his audiences. Witness the latter's arrogant prologue to *Every Man Out of His Humour*, containing such lines as these:

> ". . . if we fail
> We must impute it to this only chance,
> Art hath an enemy called ignorance,"—

and the contemptuous terms in which the speaker of the prologue to *Cynthia's Revels* is made to characterize "the vulgar and adulterate brain," and "pied ignorance" of the ordinary playgoer, and to disclaim for the poet any anxiety as to the "popular applause, or foamy praise, that drops from common jaws." In the epilogue to *The Poetaster*, the author is almost beside himself with rage, when he comes to deal with the professed critics among his audiences, the "monsters," and "vile Ibides," and "unclean birds," whose malevolent attacks, he says, had almost forced him—

> "To rive his stained quill up to the back,
> And damn his long-watched labours to the fire;
> Things that were born when none but the still night
> And his dumb candle, saw his pinching throes;
> Were not his own free merit a more crown
> Unto his travails than their reeking claps."

Poor hot-tempered Ben! When we think of those

"long-watched labours," that "pallid face," the "still nights," and the "dumb candle," we cannot but feel a kindness for this earnest, hard-working, proud, conscientious, impolitic member of the *genus irritable;* though we can understand why so few of his contemporaries chose to follow him in this style of addressing the spectators.* When, however, we arrive at the period of Charles II., we find that playhouse audiences had been thoroughly educated up to this kind of treatment at the hands of their favourite authors. Dryden, in fact, makes no secret of his persistent practice, and boldly argues that playgoers preferred rough handling to smooth compliments; as, for example, in the second prologue to *The Maiden Queen,* he avows to the audience that:

> "The most compendious method is to rail,
> Which you so like, you think yourselves ill used
> When in smart prologues you are not abused.
> A civil prologue is approved by no man;
> You hate it as you do a civil woman.
> Your fancy's palled, and liberally you pay
> To have it quickened, ere you see a play."

But in the prologue which he wrote for Southerne's *Disappointment* (1684), "spoken by Mr. Betterton," the then aged, and perhaps more temperate poet, while admitting the custom, seems to doubt its policy:

* George Peele, indeed, who was almost as mad, though not so atrabilious as Ben Jonson himself, in the prologue to *Sir Clyomon* and *Sir Clamydes,* writes very rudely of his patrons:

> ". . . our author he is pressed to bide the taunt
> Of babblers' tongues, to whom he thinks as frustrate all his toil,
> As pearls taste to filthy swine which in the mire do moil."

"How comes it, gentlemen, that nowadays,
When all of you so shrewdly judge of plays
Our poets tax you still with want of sense?
All prologues treat you at your own expense.
Sharp citizens a wiser way can go;
They make you fools but never call you so."

This looks as if Dryden purposely began the prologue in a courteous strain, reflecting that he was writing it for a less-known brother dramatist, and that the bullying manner, which his own honoured name would successfully carry off, might be thought ill-judged when nominally proceeding from the mouth of Southerne; but that the excellent intentions with which he commenced could not hold out beyond the first two couplets, or prevent the cloven hoof from appearing in the third, where the sneer at the unalterable nature of the audience, whatever might be the nature of the prologue, could not have been attributed by the least discerning critic of the day to any other than "Poet Bayes." If the audiences really liked "abuse" in "smart prologues," as supposed, then their debt to Dryden must indeed have been immense. This is how the literary dictator estimates the intelligence of the average frequenters of the King's house; he seems in these lines to despise himself for submitting to regard them, even nominally, as paymasters and ultimate patrons, instead of tribute-rendering vassals and subjects:

"The unhappy man, who once has trailed a pen,
Lives not to please himself, but other men;
Is always drudging, wastes his life and blood,
Yet only eats and drinks what you think good.
What praise so e'er the poetry deserve,
Yet every fool can bid the poet starve."

This passage is extracted from the prologue which Dryden wrote to Nat Lee's "bouncing play" of *Cæsar Borgia*, which, as Colley Cibber tells us, only "just paid candles and fiddles." He continues further on:

> "You sleep o'er wit,—and by my troth you may;
> Most of your talents lie another way.
> You love to hear of some prodigious tale,
> The bell that toll'd alone, or Irish whale"—

referring in the last lines to diversions, akin to the Two-headed Nightingale or the tattooed Greek nobleman, provided by the Barnum or Farini of the period. In another prologue the same hankering after grosser and more personal amusements than the (presumably) ideal presentations of the stage,—the taste for "drunken prophecies, libels, and dreams,"—the neglect of play-writers in comparison with news-hawkers,—is denounced with the same scornful vehemence:

> "If there be yet a few that take delight
> In that which reasonable men should write,
> To them alone we dedicate this night.
> The rest may satisfy their curious itch
> With city gazettes, or some factious speech,
> Or whate'er libel, for the public good,
> Stir up the shrovetide crew to fire and blood.
> Remove your benches, you apostate pit," etc.

He recommends the pittites to go back to their "dancing on the rope," and jeers at their inability to swallow the solid food which he was able to present to them:

> "Weak stomachs with a long disease oppressed
> Cannot the cordials of strong wit digest;
> Therefore thin nourishment of farce ye choose,
> Decoctions of a barley-water muse.
> A meal of tragedy would make ye sick,
> Unless it were a very tender chick."

Not very far removed was such a state of the drama, and were such tastes on the part of the audience, from those of the present day; only we now tell the critical public what we think in the smooth and palatable paragraphs of a leading article, instead of in the pointed couplets of a bitter and hard-hitting prologue. Distinctions, however, were usually made by dramatists between the component sections of their audience. It was understood that in attacking the majority, the poet was but conveying a veiled compliment to the appreciative minority. And on this ground we can understand the favourable reception which many of these addresses enjoyed. It is open to every spectator to fancy himself the "judicious one" who is not contemplated in the general condemnation of "a whole theatre of others." Even Ben Jonson often marked out the true wits and critics of spirit from the common brainless herd; but who these former could have been in his opinion it is difficult to discover. They are nowhere specified by any distinguishing marks; and from his prologues and epilogues it would be as impossible a task to find them out, as it would be to deduce from Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy* any mode of life which may not conduce to moodiness. In the prologue to *Every Man out of His Humour* he says:

> "Good men, and virtuous spirits, . . .
> Will cherish my free labours, love my lines."*

* Again, he speaks of

> ". . . attentive auditors
> Such as will join their profit with their pleasure,
> And come to feed their understanding parts,"—

But where were these "good men and virtuous spirits?" For of the three main classes, which made up the audiences of the day,—namely "the understanding gentlemen of the ground" (the pittites), the gallants who sat and smoked on the stage (the fashionable occupiers of the stalls they would now be), and the professed tavern-wits (answering to the coffee-house dictators of a later period, and the dramatic critics of the present),—each and every one comes in for his share of depreciation and contempt. The brain of the "scaffolder" is "vulgar and adulterate" (prologue to *Cynthia's Revels*); or if the tenants of "the yard" were at one time naturally disposed to like what is good in a play,—this native complexion had long since been vitiated and poisoned by the *soi-disant* wits, whose manner of delivering pretentious judgments they speedily learned to imitate. Against these men, who pervert the healthy instincts of humble admirers in embryo, Ben is peculiarly, and not unnaturally, bitter. "O, I would know them," says Asper in the prologue to *Every Man Out of His Humour:*

> ". . . for in such assemblies
> They are more infectious than the pestilence.
> * * * * *
> How monstrous and detested 'tis to see

For these, and such as these, he promises that he will "prodigally spend himself, and melt his brain into invention, coin new conceits, and hang his richest words, as polished jewels in their bounteous ears." Again, in the epilogue to *The Poetaster*, he avows (after Hamlet):

> "If I prove the pleasure but of one
> So he judicious be, he shall be alone
> A theatre unto me."

A fellow, that has neither art nor brain,
Sit like an Aristarchus, or stark ass,
Taking men's lines with a tobacco face,
In snuff, still spitting, using his wry'd looks,
In nature of a vice, to wrest and turn
The good aspect of those that shall sit near him
From what they do behold ! O, 'tis most vile."

Jasper Mayne, in the epilogue (at Blackfriars) to his *City Match* speaks in the same strain of those persons who devoted themselves to the labour of achieving a reputation for wit and judgment, in the only place, the theatre, where it was possible for them to do so, and among the only possible disciples—those "who sixpence pay and sixpence crack." These men, says the dramatist,

". . . call 't reproof to make a face,
Who think they judge, when they frown i' the wrong place,
Who, if they speak not ill o' the poet, doubt
They lose by the play, nor have their two shillings out."

He ends by an appeal to the "true hearers," "who to his comedy read, and unseen, Had throngèd theatres, and Blackfriars been," . . . since, he adds, "they can only clap who know to praise."

Dryden also with his more polished rapier pricks "the little Hectors of the pit" (second prologue to *The Maiden Queen*), who, he seems to fancy, by demagogic arts diverted the applause which was his due, and which would otherwise have been rendered by his supporters in that quarter. There was a league of self-constituted censors who intercepted, or forbade the payment of legitimate tribute : "looking for a judgment or a wit," says the speaker of the epilogue to his *Mock Astrologer*,

"Like Jews I saw them scattered through the pit:
And where a knot of smilers lent an ear
To one that talked, I knew the foe was there.
The club of jests went round; he who had none
Borrowed o' the rest, and told it for his own."

The powers of corruption, whereby a little leaven of confident criticism succeeds in leavening the whole lump of inert pittites, "as easily led by the nose as asses are," —and the manufacture of judgments on a play, are described with the subtilty of a keen observer, and the authority of a sufferer and expert. The process is much the same in our own day. In the prologue to Dr. Charles D'Avenant's *Circe*, Dryden again alludes, after the manner of his predecessor, Ben Jonson, to the contagious influence of the malevolent critics among the simple-minded multitude,—those "who scattering" their "infection through the pit, with aching hearts and empty purses sit." And he continues in terms which might fairly be applied to certain audiences of some of our London theatres of to-day (the Haymarket for instance):

"And then you clap so civilly, for fear
The loudness might offend your neighbour's ear,
That we suspect your gloves are lined within,
For silence sake, and cottoned next the skin."

He ends by an appeal, also in Ben's style, from these "usurpers" to "the only knowing, only judging few," who had read the play previously in private, and approved it.*

* This was the kind of appeal made in the epilogue to *The City Match* (in the passage above quoted). In the epilogue to *Aurungzebe* Dryden ends after a like fashion, putting himself in the hands of those select few, "who can discern the tinsel from the gold:" though it is a

That Dryden was sometimes at any rate, and in his best-tempered moods, inclined to trust the verdicts of the common juries of the playhouses, provided they could be freed from the influence of the self-constituted and incompetent judges who laid down bad law for them, appears from the concluding lines of another of his epilogues, in which he begs Phœbus above all to "preserve the eighteen-penny place" (in the gallery)—but for the "pit-confounders" and despotic tamperers with the independent and healthy judges of the masses,—

> ". . . let them go,
> And find as little mercy as they show!
> The actors thus, and thus thy poets pray;
> For every critic saved, thou damn'st a play." *

So too Lacy, the actor, in the prologue to his play *Old Troop or Monsieur Raggou*, avows his preference for the genial gallery in comparison with the critic-ridden pit:

> "Defend me, O my friends of th' upper region
> From the hard censure of this lower legion:
> I was in hope that I should only see
> My worthy crew of th' upper gallerie:
> What made you wits so spitefully to come?
> To tell you true, I'd rather had your room."

Considering the extent to which the theatres and the actors (Lacy himself especially) were then dependent on the Court and the nobility, this plain avowal, though of course in a sportive strain, is decidedly significant.

hopeless matter, he fears, for notwithstanding that it is "their prerogative to use the mind," yet he cannot but dread more "their votes who cannot judge, than theirs who can."

* On the mutability of the pit, as denounced in another of Dryden's prologues, see Scott's *Dryden*, vol. vi., p. 382.

Yet these tavern and coffee-house celebrities, who made the damnation of plays their peculiar business, actually went through some sort of training for the purpose, reading up French, Spanish, and old English plays, in order to be first in the field where a plagiarism was to be unearthed, and they claimed some measure of acquaintance with literature. But the gallants, who would have thought it beneath them to show much knowledge of such matters, and who went to the playhouse merely because it was fashionable, and in order to put themselves *en évidence*, excited Ben Jonson's wrath, although they did not irritate Dryden, more than the professed critics. This is how Ben (prologue to *Every Man out of His Humour*) depicts for us "a gallant of this mark." Such a one,

> ". . . to be thought one of the judicious
> Sits with his arms thus wreathed, his hat pulled o'er,
> Cries mew" (cat-calls), "and nods and shakes his empty head,
> * * * * * *
> And now and then breaks a dry biscuit jest,
> Which, that it may more easily be chewed,
> He steeps in his own laughter."

The best picture, however, of this sort of auditor is to be found in the Induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, where one of the children describes the "Civet-wit," who "knows no other learning" than "the price of satin and velvets: nor other perfection than the wearing of a neat suit; and yet will censure as desperately as the most professed critic in the house, presuming his clothes should bear him out in it." Next we have a portrait of a very well-known figure at all times in theatrical

circles, the *laudator temporis acti* who remembers the "palmy days" of the drama, and groans over its subsequent degeneracy. "Another, whom it hath pleased nature to furnish with more beard than brains, prunes his mustaccio, lisps, and with some score of affected oaths, swears down all that sit about him; that the old Hieronomo, as it was first acted, was the only best and judiciously penned play in Europe." Do we not all know this type very intimately; is he not to be seen at the first nights of revivals of old plays—(he rarely goes to absolutely new performances), and does he not always most offensively call to mind the original first night at which he was present, say forty years ago? Just as Ben Jonson's next species of fashionable playgoer "talks of twenty years since, and when Monsieur was here, and would enforce all wits to be of that fashion, because his doublet is still so." Have we not here too our "modern instances?" How often have been dinned into our ears the superficial vapourings of some gallicizing monomaniac, who can never be persuaded that any cup-and-saucer piece of French indecency and pert dialogue can be otherwise than ineffably perfect and true to (heaven save the mark!) nature? Next to this is described the prototype of another sort of "gallant," whom we fancy we can detect any evening in the Gaiety stalls, — the blasé young man who thinks Romeo's protestations, and Hamlet's soliloquies, *unnatural*, and Shakespeare unsuited for the age. Such a one "miscalls all by the name of fustian, that his grounded capacity"

("grounded" refers to the pit, as does the expression "gentlemen of the ground" or floor of the house) "cannot aspire to." "A fifth"—and he is much the most harmless of them all—"only shakes his bottle head, and out of his corky brain squeezeth out a pitiful learned face, *and is silent.*" Would that this last qualification were noticeable in more of our boxes and stalls than it is at the present day! But the misfortune of a visit to the theatre has been, in all ages and places, the circumstance that the pleasure of the innocent playgoer who wishes to hear the words of the drama is absolutely at the mercy of any ill-bred person who may think his own concerns and conversation of more moment to those about him than that which they presumably "came forth for to see." This detestable nuisance at any rate existed in Dryden's, as it had in Ben Jonson's day, and met with the same public rebuke conveyed through the same medium (almost the only possible one), the prologue or epilogue. In the epilogue written upon the occasion of the union of the two rival companies (the Duke's and the King's) in 1686, Dryden draws particular attention to

> "... a sort of prattlers in the pit,
> Who either have, or who pretend to wit;
> These noisy sirs so loud their parts rehearse,
> That oft the play is silenced by the farce."

We are reminded in these lines of the often-told story of the cynical Frenchman at the play, who, after in vain endeavouring to hear what the actors were saying, in consequence of the continuous chatter of the

occupants of the neighbouring box, at length, when asked by them the cause of his vexation, replied that "the foolish players were making so much noise that he could not catch the diverting conversation of the ladies and gentlemen near him." In plays of a later date, such as Wycherley's *Country Wife*, we find similar remonstrances—inserted in the dialogue of the play itself—against the still prevailing practice of gallants of the "Sparkish," type perambulating the house to circulate their own good things, instead of giving an opportunity to others of hearing those of the play.

But it was not so much on the "judging fops," the amateur criticasters,—still less on the barbarian taste of the gallery,* except so far as it afforded an easy prey to the insidious influences of the regulars, that this fine dramatic despot wasted his weapons either of coercion or conciliation. It was the professed censors, the disappointed or rival authors, who possessed enough acquaintance with the tricks of the trade to bear hardly upon any technical faults which their wolfish eyes could detect, and just enough tincture of literary cultivation to make the ebullitions of spite pass for the matured deliverances of sense and experience, or help the advocate to pose as the judge—it was such men as these who moved Dryden's sharpest denunciation.† He

* Though these "Bear-garden friends," too, receive some hard hits in the prologues to *Cleomenes* and some other plays.

† Swift (*Tale of a Tub*, sect. iii., "on Critics") says, "I deem the invention, or at least the refinement of prologues, to have been owing to these younger proficients"—that is, to those "junior scholars," as he elsewhere calls them, in the art of criticism, who,—at first appointed to attend

attacks them again and again in the neatest couplets of his neatest prologues: he compares them now to this offensive object, now to that; and, in hitting off their characteristics, often makes use of his happiest images. In the prologue to the second part of *The Conquest of Granada* he, like Lord Beaconsfield and several writers before and after him, regards the majority of professional critics as authors who have failed in their own vocation, but improves upon the adage by going further, and pronouncing the remainder of this class to be made up of would-be scribblers, men guilty in thought and intent, if not in deed, of the *cacoethes scribendi.*

> "They who write ill, and they who ne'er durst write,
> Turn critics, out of mere revenge and spite:
> A playhouse gives them fame; and up there starts,
> From a mean fifth-rate wit, a man of parts.
> (So common faces on the stage appear,
> We take them in, and they turn beauties here).
> Our author fears these critics as his fate;
> And those he fears by consequence must hate,
> For they the traffic of all wit invade,
> As scriveners draw away the bankers' trade."

He likens these critics who have failed to "thieves condemned," and afterwards made hangmen, in the prologue to *The Rival Ladies.*

A very happy comparison occurs in the second prologue to *The Maiden Queen,* where the critics, whose reputation depends upon the number of plays they can cry down, are described:

theatres, "spy out the worst part of a play," and duly report to their tutors,—"grow up in time to be nimble and strong enough for hunting down large game" on their own account.

"No critics' verdict should, of right, stand good,
They are excepted all, as men of blood;
And the same law should shield him from their fury,
Which has excluded butchers from a jury." *

A few lines further on, knowing the uselessness of appealing to these critics in his character of poet, he very funnily changes his ground, and avowing himself to be as truculent a critic as any of them, begs that, as a brother in the art, he may be spared:

"Good savage gentlemen, your own kind spare;
He is, like you, a very wolf or bear;
Yet think not he'll your ancient rights invade,
Or stop the course of your free damning trade;
For he (he vows) at no friend's play can sit,
But he must needs find fault, to show his wit."

But then he expresses a hope that his critics have something in hand which he may criticize and rend to pieces in turn:

"With such he ventures on an even lay,
For they bring ready money into play."

But as for the would-be writers above referred to, who shrink from the perils of an even dramatic encounter, and will give no hostages to fortune in the shape of productions of their own pen:

"Those who write not, and yet all writers nick,
Are bankrupt gamesters, for they damn on tick."

In the prologue to Southerne's *Loyal Brother* Dryden draws an elaborate and witty parallel between the sly critics, who profess to mean well, and the class of

* Cf. the prologue to *The Indian Emperor*, beginning—"Almighty critics, whom our Indians here Worship, just as they do the devil—for fear."

persons whom, next to these, he hated most of all (at this period at any rate),—Whigs:

> " Poets, like lawful monarchs, ruled the stage,
> Till critics, like damned Whigs, debauched our age,
> Mark how they jump! Critics would regulate
> Our theatres, and Whigs reform our state;
> Both pretend love, and both (plague rot them) hate.
> The critic humbly seems advice to bring,
> The fawning Whig petitions to the king;
> But one's advice into a satire slides,
> T'other's petition a remonstrance hides.
> These will no taxes give, and these no pence,
> Critics would starve the poet, and Whigs the prince."

In the prologue to *All for Love*, the first play, it will be remembered, in which Dryden "fought unarmed, without his rhyme," the critics are supposed to be conscious of the poet's disadvantage, and are appropriately likened to vultures gloating over an easy victim, and "all gaping for the carcase of a play." After a few lines, however, the simile is evidently thought too dignified for the occasion, and the odious tribe are, in a passage containing a very well-known and oft-quoted couplet, considered in the light of a far less majestic animal:

> " Let those find fault whose wit's so very small,
> They've need to show that they can think at all;
> Errors, like straws, upon the surface flow;
> He who would search for pearls must dive below.
> * * * * *
> Half-wits are fleas, so little and so light,
> We scarce could know they live, but that they bite."

Such being the opinion of this dramatist on his judges, "the Dons of wit," we cannot be surprised to find that his wishes in regard to their fate and future

are not remarkable for tenderness. The least savage prayer on the subject is to be found in the prologue to *Limberham*, where his natural foe is compared to another genus of insect, the locust:

> "Next summer, Nostradamus tells, they say,
> That all the critics shall be shipped away,
> And not enow be left to damn a play.
> To every sail beside, good heaven, be kind,
> But drive away that swarm with such a wind,
> That not one locust may be left behind!"

Yet Dryden should have been grateful to these same assailants, if, as he avows in the epilogue to *The Maiden Queen*, they supplied him with a stimulus to exertion, and if

> "Critics were the whip, and he the top;
> For as a top spins more, the more you baste her,
> So every lash you give, he writes the faster."

On the whole, however, it would appear, that the first line of the epilogue to the adaptation of *Troilus and Cressida*, put into the mouth of Thersites, candidly represented the poet's feelings in the matter: "these cruel critics" he there writes, "put me in a passion; For in their lowering looks I read damnation." Dryden's hatred of the critics, and the many choice passages above-quoted which evidence it, were clearly present to the minds of the Duke of Buckingham, and his clever coadjutors, in writing the burlesque of *The Rehearsal*, where Poet Bayes, in the first act, after informing his interlocutors that he does not write to "please the country" or after "the old plain way," but solely to gratify "some persons of quality, and peculiar friends" of his, "that understand what flame and power in writing

is "— (a hit at the poet's justificatory, explanatory, and often adulatory dedications of his plays to the Earls of Danby, Rochester, Buckingham, etc.), goes on to announce that he will have "two or three dozen of his friends to be ready in the pit," to applaud and protect his fame against envious assailants; "for," he explains, "even let a man write ever so well, there are nowadays, a sort of persons they call critics, that, 'egad, have no more wit in them than so many hobby-horses; but they'll laugh at you, sir, and find fault, and censure things, that, 'egad, I'm sure they are not able to do themselves. A sort of envious persons, that emulate the glories of persons of parts, and think to build their fame, by calumniating of persons that, 'egad, to my knowledge, of all persons in the world are, in nature, the persons that do as much despise all that, as—a—In fine, I'll say no more of them." It is needless to say that the poet's manner of daily conversation, and little tricks of speech, are so faithfully reproduced here, that we can almost fancy ourselves at Will's coffee-house, with the short-tempered dictator in his armchair, vouchsafing to us a pinch out of his snuff-box, the while he delivers his harangue, with interjectional "in nature's" and "'egads." "Were it not," he winds up, "for the sake of some ingenious persons, and choice female spirits" (*e.g.* Mistress Reeves,* the actress of the King's Theatre, his liaison with whom was made the subject of a good deal of fun in this burlesque) "that have a value for me, I would see them all hang'd, 'egad, before I would e'er set

* She spoke the epilogue to *The Maiden Queen* "in man's clothes."

pen to paper, but let them live in ignorance, like ingrates."

It will appear from the above that it must have been a sufficiently hard task to satisfy all the multifarious tastes which found their proper representatives in the theatres of the period; more especially when we consider the paucity of these playhouses, in comparison with the great number and variety of those of modern times, in some one of which almost any individual may find his peculiar fancy gratified, and his favourite style of play in vogue. But from the times of Shakespeare to those of Dryden, the dramatist had several distinct, and even diametrically opposed, orders of mind to consult; and the wonder is, not that Shakespeare occasionally introduced his clown or grave-digger, and Dryden his farce or dagger and bowl, but that these poets made no more use of such expedients than they did. Massinger, in the prologue to *The Bashful Lover*, conscious of the playwright's difficulties in this respect, hopes that it is "no crime"—

> "To be a little diffident, when we are
> To please so many with one bill of fare."

And in other prologues and epilogues we find the like complaints. Middleton, for instance, in the epilogue to *The Roaring Girl* draws an elaborate parallel between the dramatist who tries in vain to please the many-headed Demos, and the painter who made a picture, which "in striving to please all, pleased none at all," and proved a monstrosity. So also Heywood, in the epilogue to his *Woman Killed with Kindness*, compares

the playgoers of the time to a miscellaneous crew of connoisseurs in wines assembled at a tavern, and passing their different judgments on the liquor brought them by mine host; the result being that—

". . . in one hour,
The wine was new, old, flat, sharp, sweet, and sour."

"Unto this wine," he adds, "we do allude our play." By the time of Dryden it had become evident that there were two, and only two, proper methods of dealing with the conflicting elements of the audience; one of which was to attach one's self definitely to the most cultivated or the most popular portion, and exalt it to the skies at the expense of the others; the other was to abuse all classes alike, after the manner of Jonson and Dryden himself. Like the barrister, who having six cases in the courts of Westminster at the same time, took a ride in the park, and deserted them all, on the ground that this was the only way of doing equal justice to all his clients; so Ben and John agreed in their custom of impartially proclaiming the equal crassness of each and every of the different judgments which went to make up the parti-coloured sense of contemporary play-houses.*

But it was not always to a miscellaneous audience that the dramatist was forced to write. Occasionally he was honoured with a "court bespeak," and, under such

* Dryden's epilogue to *The Indian Emperor* distinguishes the various provinces of theatrical critics, and attempts to assign his peculiar sphere to each—the sonneteer, the burlesque-wit, the coffee wit, the don of wit, the pittite, the disappointed poet, etc. In the prologue to *The Spanish Friar*, the fickleness and unreliability of dramatic tastes and sympathies is severely noticed.

circumstances, when he knew his critics and patrons, it is needless to say that his confidence was much greater. Special prologues and epilogues were always composed for these occasions; the formal modesty of which expressed a well-grounded assurance as unmistakably as the blustering attitude of the corresponding addresses at the common playhouse betokened an uneasy diffidence. In the old editions of the separate plays of Massinger, Chapman, and other Elizabethans, we frequently come across a double set of prologues and epilogues, one set purporting to have been delivered "at Blackfriars," the other "at Whitehall"; and to compare the language of the two is instructive. Thus in the revival of Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*, above referred to, at the Cockpit, there was both a prologue "to the Stage" (as it was called), and a prologue "spoke at Court," beginning "Gracious and great . . . ," and appealing to the "dread sovereign"; also a pair of epilogues to match. To Jasper Mayne's *City Match* there was one "prologue to the King and Queen," and another "at Blackfriars." In the former the author humbly beseeches his royal master to consecrate the work of his hands, and make it "clean," and very shabbily professes to be ashamed of his play, and of play-writing, taking care to explain that he is only an amateur at the business; and would consider it dishonourable to be otherwise:

> ". . . none he hopes, sit here, upon his wit,
> As if he poems did, or plays commit:
> * * * * *
> For he is not o' the trade, nor would excel
> In this kind, where 'tis lightness to do well."

It was the King alone, he says, who saved his play from the fire. Afterwards it seems to have been performed at Blackfriars (reversing the common order, which, in the matter of plays, was people first and King afterwards),—where the author did not fail in his prologue to mention (somewhat offensively) the fact of its having been formerly approved by the Court, and stamped with a more potent *imprimatur* than any mere mob of Blackfriars groundlings could confer. He boasts again that he knows not "the cares" of "them that eat by the stage and wit," and that he could "make the actors," though the audience "came not twice, no losers, since" they acted "at the King's price," who had made "the play public." And a similar contrast is observable in the tone of the two epilogues.

As, in the case of *The City Match*, the author having, so to speak, applied successfully to the supreme court, afterwards comes down haughtily with a sort of prerogative writ of mandamus to the court of inferior jurisdiction, and, metaphorically, throws his play at their heads, with an "accept this! you are bidden to do so by your betters;"—so (conversely) Massinger in his *Emperor of The East*, having first sued in a humble prologue to the inferior court, and failed apparently in his petition, betakes himself thereupon to the ultimate court of appeal, and, in his prologue "at Court," thus prays that the judgment below may be reversed:

> "As ever, Sir, you lent a gracious ear
> To oppressed innocence, now vouchsafe to hear
> A short petition. At your feet, in me,
> The poet kneels, and to your majesty
> Appeals for justice."

The play, he says, has been

> ". . . laboured that no passage might appear
> But what the queen without a blush might hear:
> And yet this poor work suffered by the rage
> And envy of some Catos of the stage:
> Yet still he hopes this play which then was seen
> With sore eyes, and condemned out of their spleen,
> May be by you, the supreme judge, set free,
> And raised above the reach of calumny."

After the Restoration, the sovereign, instead of ordering special performances at Whitehall, took to visiting the theatre more frequently in person: and with the decline of "court bespeaks," the special class of court prologues declined also. Consequently we do not often find Dryden writing them. The sad fate of the one which he wrote for the court masque of *Calisto* we have already noticed.

The only sort of distinction between audiences which could be drawn in Dryden's time was that between the "town" and the "city" of London, or again, that between London itself and the Universities.*

The prologue to *Eastward Hoe* (printed, 1605), the joint work of Jonson, Marston, and Chapman, is one of the first to mention "the city," as likely to form an audience of a special and distinctive character,—an audience to appreciate a drama dealing with goldsmiths, lawyers, apprentices, tailors, usurers, and altogether strongly redolent of Cheapside. It concludes:

> "Bear with our willing pains; if dull or witty
> We only dedicate it to the city."

* Another prologue dealing generally, and in no very conciliatory spirit, with the audiences of the day, was that written by Dryden for Lodowick Carlell's play, *Arviragus and Philicia.*

Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*, and several other of his plays, appeal in like manner to the peculiar tastes and humours of mercantile London. And even Dryden, in the epilogue to his *Marriage à-la-Mode*, takes this interest into consideration, and appears to cater for its exclusive vote; "since, therefore," he sums up,

> ". . . court and town will take no pity,
> I humbly cast myself upon the city."

But the far more important distinction between the London audiences and those of the Universities was fully recognized by our playwrights from the earliest times, and their sense of this distinction signified by the widely different character of prologue or epilogue which they penned for their plays, according as they were to present them to the more or to the less refined gathering of the two.

Most of the earliest plays acted at the Universities preserved to a considerable extent the old Morality flavour, and dealt largely in abstractions; such plays, for instance, as *Lingua*, *The Return from Parnassus*, etc.: and they were at first usually written in Latin, such as *Æmilia*, *Ignoramus*, *Melanthe*, etc., . . . so that when *Albumazar* (afterwards revived, with a prologue written for it by Dryden) was acted *in English* before King James in the hall of Trinity College, Cambridge (March 7, 1614), it was thought necessary to apologize in the original prologue for this innovation, necessitated (as it was explained) by the presence of ladies. From this time English plays became common at the Universities, and Dryden made them more popular than ever, principally

by the delicate flattery which he infused into the very neat and scholarly prologues which he wrote for these occasions. The incense was of such fragrancy and subtilty that not even the erudite nostrils of Oxford could withstand its influence. Comparisons are freely drawn between the coarseness of London, and the refinement of academic criticism: and Dryden repeats to the University dons and students (though in choicer verses) the sneers which (to do him justice) he had never hesitated to address face to face to the play-goers of the King's house. Again and again (for these prologues to the Universities are very numerous) he commiserates himself for being compelled to do so much hack-work for London pits, and felicitates himself that he is occasionally permitted to address an Oxford audience. Thus in a prologue to this University (of the year 1674) he writes:

> "Poets must stoop when they would please our pit,
> Debased even to the level of their wit;
> Disdaining that which yet they know will take,
> Hating themselves what their applause must make.
> But when to praise from you they would aspire,
> Though they like eagles mount, their Jove is higher.
> So far your knowledge all their power transcends,
> As what should be, beyond what is, extends.

Again in an epilogue to the same society (1673), he compliments in graceful verses, both Vice-Chancellor Bathurst, and "the Athenians" over whom he presided, and whose "learned hospitality" he dispensed. One cannot but think, when we consider the poet's life in London, with his four plays a year to write for the King's house, his literary quarrels, his dubious relations

to noble patrons (insulted and beaten by their bravos with clubs one day, and daubing them with fulsome flattery the next), and his continual unrest,* that there was genuine feeling in the wistful words with which this epilogue commences :

> " Oft has our poet wished this happy seat
> Might prove his fading Muse's last retreat."

Surely this much-vexed writer, working under such unsuitable conditions, and in such an alien age—yoking his genius to such prosaic ploughs to turn over so coarse and heavy loam—must often have hoped to exchange the dissolute court-life and wrangling coffee-houses of London for the cloistered seclusion of a college chamber, and sighed

> ". . . for quiet and content of mind
> Which noiseful towns and courts can never know,
> And only in the shades, like laurels, grow.
> Youth ere it sees the world here studies rest,
> And age, returning thence, concludes it best.
> What wonder if we court that happiness
> Yearly to share, which hourly you possess,
> Teaching e'en you, while the vext world we show,
> Your peace to value more, and better know?"

The most marked compliment to Oxford, as compared with London, taste in matters theatrical is to be found in the "Prologue to the University of Oxford," spoken (as usually on these occasions) "by Mr. Hart, at the acting" of Ben Jonson's *Silent Woman.* Dryden there tells his "Athenian Judges" that

* Cf. Dryden's mournful testimony to his neglect by Charles II. "The pension of a prince's praise," was, he says, "all that could be got from that quarter." "Little was the muses' hire, and light their gain," in the time of the Merry Monarch.

" Poetry which is in Oxford made
An art, in London only is a trade.
There haughty dunces, whose unlearned pen
Could ne'er spell grammar, would be reading men.
Such build their poems the Lucretian way,
So many huddled atoms make a play;
* * * * *
To such a fame let mere town wits aspire,
And their gay nonsense their own cits admire.
Our poet, could he find forgiveness here,
Would wish it rather than a plaudit there.
He owns no crown from those Prætorian bands,
But knows that right is in the Senate's hands.
* * * * *
Kings make their poets whom themselves think fit,
But 'tis your suffrage makes authentic wit."

In the last couplet he subordinates not only popular applause, but the titular laureateship, to the approval of his favourite University. It is curious, by the way, that Oxford *should* have been his favourite University, for he was educated at Cambridge. In another of his prologues to the former he alludes to and avows his preference, without attempting to assign any cause for it, in the concluding lines:

" Oxford to him a dearer name shall be
Than his own mother-university.
Thebes did his green unknowing youth engage;
He chooses Athens in his riper age."

Cambridge must have mortally offended the poet at some point of his career, to have warranted this not very complimentary reference to the Bœotian city.

In the last-mentioned prologue we have one more tirade against the King's house pit, coupled with judicious laudation of the critical acumen of Oxford scholars. And

the praise is supposed to come on this occasion from the actors, as it formerly proceeded from the author:

> "Though actors cannot much of learning boast,
> Of all who want it we admire it most:
> We love the praises of a learned pit,
> As we remotely are allied to wit.
> * * * * *
> When our fop gallants, or our city follow,
> Clap over loud, it makes us melancholy:
> We doubt that scene which does their wonder raise,
> And, for their ignorance, contemn their praise.
> Judge then if we who act, and they who write,
> Should not be proud of giving you delight.
> London likes grossly, but this nicer pit
> Examines, fathoms all the depths of wit;
> The ready finger lays on every blot;
> Knows what should justly please, and what should not."

These University prologues, it is needless to say, like everything else which Dryden wrote, furnished the poet's persistent assailant, Tom Brown, with an opportunity for ridicule not to be resisted. In *The Reasons for Mr. Bayes Changing his Religion* (one of his numerous pamphlets) this satirist hints that Dryden was "of my Lord Plausible's opinion in *The Plain Dealer*," and makes him say, "If I chance to commend any place or order of men, out of pure friendship, I choose to do it before their faces; and if I have occasion to speak ill of any person or place, out of a principle of respect and good manners, I do it behind their backs;" and then Bayes proceeds to instance his University experiences. If (as Sir W. Scott thinks) it is meant by this that Dryden laughed at his University friends in the London prologues, there is (as we have seen) no foundation for the charge; but I think the reference rather is to the

poet's private letters, such, for instance, as that to the Earl of Rochester, in which he (certainly with contemptible pettiness of character) writes: "I have sent you a prologue and epilogue which I made for our players, when they went down to Oxford—I hear they have succeeded—and by the event your lordship will judge how easy 'tis to pass anything upon a University, and how gross flattery the learned will endure." I do not however for a moment believe that these lines represented the real state of Dryden's mind, or were written for any other purpose than to amuse the disreputable patron whom he was addressing.

CHAPTER IV.

Information as to stage-usages contained in prologues and epilogues —The various parts of the theatre, and their respective tenants —Allusions to the tariff of the playhouse—The "sinful six-penny mechanics"—The "twopenny gallery"—The "scaffolders"—The stools on the stage—The "yard"—The "understanding gentlemen of the ground"—The "private room"—The half-crown pit of the Restoration—Allusions to the curtain —The "Naples silk" of the "Red Bull"; "Banding tile and pear" against it "to allure the actors"—The curtain before the stage balcony—The "three blasts of the trumpet" summoning the "quaking Prologue"—The incidental music—The duration of a play—The "two hours' traffic of our stage"—Allusions in prologues and epilogues to the scenery, the properties, the dresses, and superior embellishment of masques —Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones—The "thunder machine"—Shakespeare's "squibs" and "rolled bullet" in Ben Jonson's prologues—References to theatrical customs; to wagers on actors; to "table-books"; to the author's "second day" and "third day"; to the time of the commencement of the play; to the title of the play; "hanging up the title;" to the first women-actors; apologies for the innovation—The "nurseries" of young Maximins referred to in prologues—Allusions to the morals of the contemporary stage and of contemporary society —Loyal prologues—Party prologues—Political prologues.

THE interest which a study of the Prologue, and of its various changes in form and substance, must possess for

one who is employed in investigating the characters and literary aims of the successive dramatists, will always be considerable. Even more valuable must such a study be for the purposes of the minute historian of the English stage—of the art of acting, that is, as opposed to dramatic composition, and of its various accessories, customs, and appliances. What copious use may be made of prologues and epilogues for the illustration of the usages of the Shakespearian theatres is apparent from the constant references to them in the pages of Malone and Mr. Collier. Later periods furnish a similar abundance of material, though up to the present, at any rate, no Collier of the Restoration drama has appeared to ransack the numerous prologues of Dryden and his contemporaries with the same results as have been achieved by researches into the prologues of Shakespeare and the playwrights of his day. I now propose to touch very briefly on a few instances of stage-usages and conventions recorded or hinted at in some of the addresses to the audience written by the dramatists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The general appearance and several divisions of the auditorium in an Elizabethan playhouse are now sufficiently well known. To the pit (or "yard" as it really was in the inns out of which in pre-Shakespearian times theatres were frequently extemporized),—the galleries, or "scaffolds," surrounding the pit,—the "rooms" or private boxes underneath the galleries,—and the stools set apart for the gallants and critics on the stage itself, the allusions in our earliest prologues are frequent, and

too familiar to need quotation here. But besides these well-marked provinces appertaining to the various classes of playgoers, we find references to certain very badly placed and low-priced boxes at each side of the balcony which formed a sort of fixed property of the stage, and was placed at its back. From their obscurity, we are told in Dekker's *Gul's Hornebooke*, that "much new satten was there dampned by being smothered to death in darkness." But the very peculiarity of sitting in such an out-of-the-way place tempted, as was natural, some of the more exquisite spirits; and in an old prologue we find a reference to a "private box" in this position being "taken up at a new play" for a gentleman of the period and "his retinue," which proceeding is described as

> ". . . a fresh habit
> Of a fashion never seen before, to draw
> The gallants' eyes, that sit upon the stage."

This latter class, the "gallants, that sit upon the stage," their stools, their tobacco, and their pages, are perhaps more frequently made the subject of allusion, for purposes of ridicule or otherwise, than any other, in the prefatory couplets which the poet confided to the "black cloak." Thus in the induction to *The Malcontent* we are introduced to William Sly (the player), "followed by a tireman with a stool." William Sly takes his seat, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the tireman, on the stage, explaining that this was allowable at "the private house" (as Blackfriars was), and leading us to suppose that it was not customary at the less select theatres known as "public playhouses." Sly and Lowin,

as spectators in the course of this same Induction, invite one another to take tobacco on the stage, according to the practice of the day, and the "private rooms" are also mentioned. The arrangement of the auditorium continued much the same till Dryden's time, as appears from the phrase of his contemporary Howard of which so much use is made in *The Rehearsal.* This dramatist, whenever he wished to prophecy the complete success of a play in a single comprehensive expression, used to vow that it would "box, pit and gallery it, 'egad, with any play in Europe." The audience on the stage held their position, and asserted their prescriptive rights, till the reformer Garrick, to the intense relief of his brother actors, finally swept them and their stools away.*

But though the "scientific frontiers" remained the same, the taxation changed. The managers of Dryden's time exacted a considerably heavier tribute than the Elizabethans. The materials for estimating the prices of admission to the different parts of the theatre in the pre-Restoration period, which may be gathered from contemporary prologues and epilogues, are exceedingly abundant, but unfortunately also exceedingly conflicting and unsatisfactory: conflicting, because the houses for which the various prologues were written were of various characters, and consequently prescribed various tariffs; and unsatisfactory, sometimes, because

* Royal proclamations had been issued with this object, in 1664 first, and in subsequent years, but apparently without any lasting effect. In France, too, Voltaire, as Mr. Collier tells us, complains of "la foule de spectateurs confondue sur la scène avec les acteurs," even so late as his own time.

the prices at first nights, for which, of course the prologues were composed, were often not the normal prices, but raised for the occasion. However, checking the prologues by other evidences, we arrive at the following usual tariff of the playhouses which flourished before the Puritan domination:—(Common) "Rooms," Scaffold or Gallery, *2d.* (sometimes *1d.*, sometimes *6d.*); Ground, Yard, or Pit, *6d.*; Private Rooms, *1s.* (sometimes *1s. 6d.*, *2s.*, or even *2s. 6d.*); Stools on the Stage, *6d.* or *1s.* The "twopenny tenants" are addressed in the epilogue (already quoted) to Dekker's *Satiromastix;* and the prologue to Beaumont and Fletcher's *Woman Hater* more specifically talks of "the utter discomfiture of all *twopenny Gallery men.*" On the other hand, the lowest class of Bankside theatres, such as the Hope and Rose, provided "penny rows" for the "gallery commoners," while Jasper Mayne, in his epilogue to *The City Match* is clearly alluding to the humblest branch of the audience, that is the "scaffolders" or "gallery commoners," where he disdains any fear that

> ". . . his name can suffer much,
> From those who sixpence pay and sixpence crack."

But this was at the Blackfriars, a somewhat select theatre, where the prices would naturally be higher than at the more popular riverside houses.

The "sinful sixpenny mechanics" of the pit, the "understanders" who sat in the "oblique caves and wedges of the house," are made the subject of some of Ben Jonson's pleasant animadversions in the induction to *The Magnetic Lady,* not to mention numerous other

prologues; while the shilling private boxes are referred to evidently as the best places in the house by William Sly, who, in the induction to *The Malcontent*, protests to his friend Burbage that "any man that hath wit may censure, if he sit in the twelvepenny room." So at a later period, Beaumont and Fletcher, addressing the most refined members of their audience, in the prologue to *The Mad Lover*, conclude:

> "Remember you're all venturers; and in this play
> How many *twelvepences* you've staked to-day." *

In the induction to Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* we have a scale of prices mentioned from sixpence to half a crown, whence we must conclude that even at the Hope (by no means a superior house) as much as two shillings and sixpence was, at all events on special occasions, charged for some of the private boxes. "It shall be lawful," the poet there says, "for any man to judge his sixpenny-worth, his twelvepenny-worth, so to his eighteenpence, two shillings, half a crown, to the value of his place—provided always his place get not above his wit." Two shilling prices for private boxes are mentioned in the prologue to Habington's *Queen of Arragon* (1640), and in the epilogue to Jasper Mayne's *City Match* (1637). "Half a crown boxes" even are referred to in one of Fletcher's plays, acted as early as 1620.

The best stools on the stage might be hired for a shilling, and others (presumably the less comfortable, or

* Cf. the prologue to *King Henry VIII.*

worse placed) for sixpence, as appears from the induction to *The Malcontent*, where Sly tells the tireman that if he had taken him for one of the players, he would, by way of punishment for the affront, have paid him only sixpence (the lower price) for the use of his stool. In Dryden's time, doubtless owing to the intermittent royal proclamations forbidding playgoers to sit on the stage, we have no public references in prologues to "twelve-penny-stool gentlemen;" for any such allusion would of course, under the circumstances, have been very impolitic on the part of the dramatist, however much the presence of these persons may have been winked at. The tariff of the three remaining parts of the house during the later period is fairly easy to ascertain, owing to the fact that there were only two recognized theatres in London from the Restoration to 1686, the King's and the Duke's, and after that date only one. The prices had then considerably risen, and were—Gallery, 1*s.* 6*d.*; Pit, 2*s.* 6*d.*; Private Boxes, 4*s.*

The gallery is alluded to by Dryden in an epilogue (to what play is uncertain), in which he prays Phœbus, above all, to "preserve the eighteen-penny place." The half-crown pit seats are continually mentioned in the Restoration prologues, especially in those of Dryden; but the price of the boxes we gather from Pepys, Tom Brown, and other play-going gossips of the time.*

* The epilogue to Dryden's *Cleomenes* (spoken by Mrs. Bracegirdle) contains this couplet:

> "Buy a good bargain, gallants, while you may;
> I'll cost you but your half a crown a day."

The barrier between the auditorium and the stage—the barrier which divided the world of romance from the world of reality, the dagger and bowl and honeyed speeches of the players from the nuts and cards and cat-calls of the noisy spectators—was naturally as prominent a feature in the prologue of the infant drama, as it was a matter of deep interest to the "gazing scaffolders," or to the groundlings. These latter, indeed, before the commencement of the play, often manifested their impatience at the close-drawn mysteriousness of the obstructive curtain not less strongly, though more irreverently, than Charles Lamb, who, in one of his most charming essays, describes his sensations in viewing the green and weird-looking thing which refused to roll itself up out of sight, till the (as it seemed to the enthusiastic boy) long-delayed magic tinkle of the prompter's bell. But Elia only gazed and waited in dreamy rapture: not so the lusty Elizabethan pittite, who, instead of possessing his soul and seat in patience, would rise up and hurl a brick or orange at the offending tapestry. The head of the company of "Fortune players," on removing to the Red Bull playhouse, in the prologue written for that occasion (1640), being as proud of his new silk curtains, as a modern manager is of the latest æsthetic "drop," takes occasion to remonstrate with the audience in this matter:

> "Only we would request you to forbear
> Your wonted custom, *banding tile and pear*
> *Against our curtains, to allure us forth:*—
> I pray take notice, these are of more worth;
> *Pure Naples silk, not worsted.*"

It will be seen from the above that the Elizabethans did not use our curtain rolled up and down, at the commencement and close of the play, as now, nor yet the curtain of the ancient drama drawn up from below, but two curtains drawn apart or closed together, and moving on an iron rod. Thus the epilogue to *Tancred and Gismund* (1592) concludes: "Now draw the curtaines, for our scene is done:" whence it would appear that the Prologue or Epilogue did not appear in front of the curtains, as at a later period, but that they had the stage to themselves as much as the actors. "The curtains are drawn open again, and the Epilogue enters"—says a stage direction of 1658. In the prologue to *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* (circ. 1608), a play which, if we write Peter Fabel for Faustus, opens in much the same way as Marlowe's famous drama, we appear to have an exception to this rule: for in the middle of his speech, the Prologue "draws the curtain," according to the stage direction, and discovers Peter Fabel—"behold him here laid on his restless couch." The curtain used here, however, may have been that before the balcony at the back of the stage, which, as we know, must have been made use of in *Hamlet* and in *King Henry VIII.*, and several other Shakespearian plays.

No tinkling of a bell, either, as in modern times, announced the Prologue; nor even the three blows of the hammer, so long in force at the House of Molière; but three blasts of a trumpet, the last of which brought the "quaking Prologue" (as Dekker has it) to his place. The "third sounding" is referred to in the prologue to

Ben Jonson's *Every Man Out of His Humour* and in the induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, and elsewhere.*

It must not, however, be supposed that the three soundings, together with the "alarums," the "funeral marches," and the like, so frequently prescribed in the course of a play of Shakespeare, constituted the sum of the music performed during the performance. It is frequently assumed that, in conformity with the rude adornments of the stage in other respects, there was an entire absence in those days of any "concord of sweet sounds" between the acts; but this is a mistake. In the prologue to *Hannibal and Scipio* (1637) we discover a clear allusion to the custom:

> "The places sometimes chang'd too for the scene,
> Which is translated, as the musick plays
> Betwixt the acts."

And the stage directions of the period ("playe musicke," and the like) are still more explicit. In Marston's *Sophonisba* (1606) at the end of an act, "the ladies" are directed "to draw the curtains about Sophonisba; the cornets and organs playing loud full musicke for the act."

The average duration of a Shakespearian performance (including these musical intervals) seems to have been not much more than two hours. Thus the prologue to *Romeo and Juliet* (which play recently took three hours

* Evidences of this custom are, however, as may be expected, to be found chiefly in the stage directions preceding the text of the prologue, as those at the commencement of Greene's *Alphonsus, King of Arragon* (cited by Mr. Collier): "After you have sounded thrice, let Venus be let down from the top of the stage, and when she is down, say;" etc.

and a half to act at the Lyceum), speaks of the "two hours traffic of our stage." Allowing the length of the pauses for music between the acts to have been much the same then as now (but if anything, of course, rather shorter), and that "the two hours traffic of our stage," may well have been a round-numbers expression representing a performance of something like two hours and a half, this still leaves an entire hour to be accounted for by taking into consideration the enormous amount of time occupied in working the scenic appliances of our modern theatres, and in perfecting realistic by-play, "local colour," and "business" generally. "Two hours," indeed, even then, will almost seem too short a time for an Elizabethan representation; but the prologues of the day continually mention this as the normal and allotted period. Thus the prologue to *King Henry VIII.* undertakes that the spectators "if they be still and willing . . . may see away their shilling *in two short hours.*" So also Ben Jonson, in the prologue to *The Alchemist,* begins:

> "Fortune that favours fools, *these two short hours*
> We wish away:"

and Middleton, in the induction to his *Michaelmas Term,* says to the audience: "we dispatch you *in two short hours* without demur; your suits hang not long after candles be lighted." The epilogue to *The Hog hath lost His Pearl* (by one Robert Tailor, acted 1612), contains these lines:

> "For this our author says, if 't prove distasteful,
> He only grieves you spent *two hours* so wasteful"—

while the epilogue to *Ram Alley or Merry Tricks* (by Lodowick Barry) commences:

> "Thus *two hours* have brought to an end
> What many tedious hours have penn'd."

But Beaumont and Fletcher in the epilogue to *The Loyal Subject*, disregarding the conventional "two short hours," speak of "*three* hours of precious time" having been consumed in the representation. By the time of Dryden,* when songs, dances, and music had largely encroached on the province of acting proper, three hours would certainly have been nearer the mark; though in a curious pamphlet of the Bettertonian period, containing an estimate of the average times which it took to play the various dramas then in possession of the stage, I find such a very long tragedy as *Hamlet* set down for two hours and forty minutes only: but it does not appear whether this included, or not, the time occupied in music between the acts.

Certainly the fathers of our dramas did not spend much time in change of scenes; for it has been established now beyond doubt that in the regular theatres at least (whatever may have been the case in the court masques superintended by Inigo Jones) there were no scenes—in the modern English sense of the word—to change. There were, however, pictures painted in perspective on the arras (but probably for purposes of general adornment merely), as would appear from the following passage in the induction to Ben Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels*,

* Cf. Dryden's Works (ed. Sir W. Scott), vol. iv., p. 442.

where one of the children says to another: "Away, wag; what, wouldst thou make an implement" (or "property" as we now term it) "of me? 'Slid, the boy takes me for a piece of perspective, I hold my life, or some silk curtain, come to hang the stage here! Sir crack, I am none of your fresh pictures, that use to beautify the decayed dead arras in a public theatre." Properties our ancestors had in abundance, and (as we have seen) permanent balconies, which were useful for an extraordinary variety of purposes, but no movable scenes painted on cloth and capable of being rolled up on cylinders. It is obvious that in such extracts from prologues or choruses as the following, the term is used in its modern French sense:

> "Unto Southampton do we shift our scenes."
> Chorus to *King Henry V.*
> "But if conceit with quick-turned sceans
> May win your favours."
> Prologue to *Ram Alley.*
> "For all my life has been but as *a scene*
> *Acting that argument.*"
> *King Henry IV., Part II.*

But, at the Restoration,—partly owing to the gallicizing mania brought over by Charles II., and partly to the individual energy and enterprise of Sir William D'Avenant, and the success attending the elaborately mounted masques at Whitehall and elsewhere, which the theatres strove to rival—large innovations in this respect took place; which, though opposed for a time by Betterton and the great actors who had no desire to be snuffed out by external ornamentation or become

mere parts of a spectacle, found an enthusiastic advocate in their introducer. D'Avenant, in the prologue to *The Wits* (1662) ridicules the sturdy sticklers for the usages of Elizabeth's time—"as if," he writes:

> "As if a guinea and louis had less
> Intrinsick value for their handsomeness.
> So divers, who outlive the former age,
> Allow the coarseness of the plain old stage,
> And think rich vests and scenes are only fit
> Disguises for the want of art and wit."

Here "scenes" is obviously used in the modern acceptation. And so also in the prologue to *The Generous Enemies* (1672) by an opponent of the new-fangled ways:

> "Your aged fathers came to plays for wit,
> And sat knee-deep in nutshells in the pit;
> Coarse hangings then, instead of scenes were worn,
> And Kidderminster did the stage adorn."

It is curious to observe, as early as 1660, the counterpart and prototype of the modern wailings of old playgoers over the encroachments of the decorative acts on the province of the histrionic. Even Dryden, whose stage directions involve the most ample contributions from the scene painter, the dancer, and the singer, railed *more suo* against all of these as long as he decently could. In an epilogue which he composed for a revival of Ben Jonson's *Silent Woman* he contemptuously alludes to the novelties imported from France by the "hot Monsieurs" who, though they had come over to act in England for a short time only, yet, "in that short time" had "left their itch of novelty behind." To these succeeded the "Italian Merry Andrews," so that—

"Nature was out of countenance, and each day
Some new-born monster shewn you for a play.
But when all failed, to strike the stage quite dumb
Those wicked engines, call'd machines, are come."

Here we have the stage-machinist (now a familiar figure on our play-bills) added to the list of actor-gagging nuisances. He continues by making a special reference to the thunder-and-lightning machines*—(this protest is amusing as coming from a dramatist who himself made such habitual use in his plays of these atmospheric phenomena, that the authors of *The Rehearsal* represent him as particularly pluming himself on the composition of a prodialogue between two characters representing "the loud Thunder" and "the brisk Lightning"):

"Thunder and Lightning now for wit are played,
And shortly scenes in Lapland will be laid."

The thunder-machine is, with other "fantastical appliances" fetched "from Paris, Venice, and from Rome," made the subject of most vehement derision in the prologue to *Tunbridge Wells* (1678):

"Th' old English stage confined to plot and sense,
Did hold abroad some small intelligence;
But since the invasion of the foreign scene,
Jack-pudding farce, and Thundering machine,
Dainties to your grave ancestors unknown,
Who never disliked wit because their own,
There's not a player but is turned a scout," etc.

Dryden's principal objection, however, seems to have been to the vast outlay involved in the elaborate mount-

* Not unknown in a rude form even in Shakespeare's time. Ben Jonson tells his audience in the prologue to *Every Man in His Humour* that in *his* play no "nimble squib" would be seen "to make afeard The gentlewomen; nor rolled bullet heard To say, it thunders."

ing necessitated by the tastes of the Restoration audiences. The more money was spent for such purposes, the less there would remain for him as a sharer in the proceeds of the King's theatre; unless the increased expense should attract larger audiences, which (judging from the expressions used by him), it did not succeed in doing. In the prologue which he wrote for the revival of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Prophetess*, and which Betterton delivered, he begins:

> "What Nostradame, with all his art, can guess
> The fate of our approaching Prophetess?
> A play which, like a perspective set right,
> Presents our vast expenses close to sight;
> But turn the tube, and there we sadly view
> Our distant gains, and these uncertain too;
> A sweeping tax, which on ourselves we raise,
> And all, like you, in hope of better days.
> When will our losses warn us to be wise?
> Our wealth decreases, and our charges rise,
> Money, the sweet allurer of our hopes,
> Ebbs out in oceans, and comes in by drops.
> We raise new objects to provoke delight,
> But you grow sated 'ere the second night."

Even as originally performed, this play required "thunder-bolts brandished from on high," and "chariots drawn through mid-air, by flying dragons,"—but, on its revival, it was turned into an opera outright, with songs and superior scenic embellishment added by Betterton—("to what base uses?" etc.),—and with music by Henry Purcell. All this would cost an amount of money, which, we may imagine, "glorious John" watched "ebbing out in oceans" with infinite disgust.

In the prologues and epilogues of our period there

were frequent allusions to curious theatrical customs, of which we have little evidence from other sources. One of these (peculiar, apparently, to the period before the Restoration) was the habit prevalent among the choicer critics of wagering on the relative merits of two rival actors playing the same part at different houses. An umpire we presume, was appointed, whose decision was final. The famous Ned Alleyn, who rarely disappointed his backers, was the subject of many of these bets. Heywood, in his prologue to Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*, as revived by him, was evidently not unmindful of this, when recommending Richard Perkins to the indulgence of the audience, on that actor's attempting to play the part which had become so indelibly associated with the name of Alleyn. He is afraid that the spectators will think that he was presumptuous enough to invite comparison, and that the usual wagers had been laid as to whether Perkins would prove a better artist than his great predecessor; and therefore he disclaims any such thought or intention:

> "Nor think that this day any prize was played,
> Here were no bets at all, no wagers laid."

So in the induction to *The Malcontent*, Sinklow, who is anxious to persuade his interlocutors that he "might have been one of the college of critics once," after discovering from Condell that Burbage is entrusted with the title-rôle of the play, offers to "lay four of mine ears the play is not so well acted as it hath been."

The double use of "table-books"—on the one hand

for the dramatist to note down the good things he heard in taverns and other resorts of the witty, and then insert them in his play; and, on the other hand, for the critics among the audience who would transcribe the jests of the play and retail them afterwards in conversation as their own—is often hinted at in the Elizabethan prologues. As illustrating the latter use, we find William Sly, in the last-mentioned induction, telling the tireman —"I am one that hath seen this play often, and can give them" (the players) "intelligence for their action. *I have most of the jests here in my table-book.*" Beaumont and Fletcher, in the prologue to *The Custom of the Country*, declare that they

> ". . . dare look
> On any man that brings his table-book,
> To write down what again he may repeat
> At some great table to deserve his meat."

The converse process is evidently alluded to, though not directly mentioned in the induction to Ben Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels*, where the author, in the person of one of the three Children, expresses a wish that his rival poets "would not so penuriously glean wit from every laundress or hackney-man, or derive their best grace . . . from . . . observation of the company they converse with; as if their invention lived wholly upon another man's trencher." It is somewhat amusing, after this, to find that this very habit was principally charged against Ben by his rival Dekker in the *Satiromastix*. The dramatic commonplace-book of Dryden also figures largely in *The Rehearsal*.

It is well known that the authors of Shakespeare's day sold their plays to the theatres sometimes outright, but more frequently for a lump sum, and the net profits (whatever they might be) of the second—in later times, the third—performance. Thus Mr. Collier tells us that one Daborne sold a "book" to Henslowe (Alleyn's partner in the management of the Fortune playhouse) "for £12 and the overplus of the second day." This customary "second day" is often noticed in the prologues of the period. Thus Jasper Mayne, in an already-quoted prologue (that to *The City Match*) says of himself, and his non-professional position :

> "He's one whose unbought muse did never fear
> An empty second day, or a thin share."

The last half of the second line alludes to a mode of payment which was afterwards more frequently adopted. Dryden, for instance, was a sharer in the profits of the King's house, for his three or four plays a-year, besides receiving remuneration in other forms. The author's benefit performance soon came to be put off to the third day—a rather serious consideration for him at a time when six afternoons constituted a respectable "run." Dekker, in the prologue to his quaintly titled play *If it be not good, the Devil is in it*, speaks with contempt of the dramatist who

> ". . . with squint eyes doth gaze
> On Pallas' shield, not caring (so he gains
> A crammed third day) what filth drops from his brains."

At a very much later period (1696), Dryden, in his old age writing a prologue for his son John's maiden

play, *The Husband his own Cuckold*, speaks of "the *third* day," as furnishing the authors' normal and only pay. In comparing a young poet producing his first play with a young parson preaching his first sermon, he writes :

> "Both say, they preach and write for your instruction,
> But 'tis for a *third* day, and for induction.
> The difference is, that, though you like the play,
> The *poet's gain is ne'er beyond his day*, etc." *

I may be asked by those who consider how comparatively recent is the growth of dramatic copyright, as recognized by law, what was to prevent one house playing a piece sold by its author to another house? The answer is that plays were never printed till long after they had seen the stage, unless they had been complete failures; and that, though people could and did take down the dialogue sometimes "by stenographie" (as Mr. Collier has pointed out) at the theatre, yet there was, at any rate at the best playhouses, an honourable understanding or custom, practically as valid and binding as a law, that no unfair advantage should be reaped in this way. In the induction to *The Malcontent*, William Sly asks Henry Condell the actor, how he had "come by this play" (*i.e. The Malcontent*, about to be performed). "Faith, sir, the book was lost; and because 'twas pity so good a play should be lost, we found it, and play it." Sly affects not to credit this plea of treasure-trove, and rejoins: "I wonder you would play it, *another company having interest in it.*"

* For some valuable information on this head, see the late Mr. Dutton Cook's entertaining *Book of the Play*, vol. ii., pp. 126–129.

The time of commencement of the play is often noted in the prologues and inductions of the various periods. It is curious in comparing these to watch how the hour at which the doors of the theatre were opened, and the flag waved from the roof, to signify to all concerned *outside* the house that the performance was about to begin (as the three soundings of the trumpet notified the same to all persons *within* its walls), gradually became later and later. In Shakespeare's time it was twelve o'clock, and candles were rarely wanted to see out the play with, even in the depth of winter; then it was one o'clock, and shortly before the Puritan suppression of plays two o'clock. After the Restoration three o'clock became the normal time, as appears by a curious old bill of one of the first plays performed by the newly constituted King's players shortly after Charles II.'s return. Amongst other sources of information on this point we may take the following extract —(part of which has been cited above to illustrate another point)—from the commencement of the induction (called here introduction) to Richard Flecknoe's *Damoiselles à-la-Mode*, which was produced seven years after the Restoration. The passage also illustrates the customs (above mentioned) of drawing back the curtains from the centre, and of playing music before the performance. The interlocutors strangely have no names, but are numbered like convicts.

"*The candles lighted before the curtain's drawn. Enter one of the Actors, another* (*supposed no Actor*) *calling after him.*

"1. Hark you, hark you, whither away so fast?

"2. Why to the Theatre, 'tis past three o'clock, and the Play's ready to begin.

* * * * *

"1. But has he" (the Author) "any Faction for him? Has he any to cry him up, in court or town? else he'll be sure to be cryed down, before the Curtain's drawn, or Musick play."

In the prologue to *The Cheats* half-past three is referred to as the time of the commencement of the performance. Towards the end of Dryden's career the hour came to be fixed at four o'clock, and since then has been steadily growing later and later.

Among the dramatic customs of our ancestors, we must not omit to notice their habit of hanging up on a pole, and exhibiting to the view of the audience, the title of the play to be performed.* "Hang up the title," says Hieronimo, before commencing the "play within a play" which is so important an element in the curious plot of *The Spanish Tragedy*. So, also, in another play-scene which occurs in Richard Brome's *Antipodes* (above referred to), Quailpipe, one of the characters in the play, speaks the prologue, which begins:

> "Our far-fetched title over land and seas
> Offers *unto your view* the Antipodes."

The practice, however, was by no means invariable, and it was often the duty of the Chorus or prologue-speaker

* From the evidences of this custom has originated, I suppose, the modern belief (for which I can find no evidence), that the Elizabethan actors used to put up boards, with scrawls of "this is Athens," etc., upon them, to denote the scenes.

—(there being then no papers to advertise in, but only "posts," which several would not have seen)—to announce the title to the spectators, and if necessary to explain it, or comment upon it. But one or other of the two modes of making it known was essential. Thus in the play-scene in *Hamlet*, where the prologue is only in three short lines, which say nothing about the title and where the play itself is preceded by nothing else than the "dumb show," the King, after the action has commenced, seeing, we may suppose, no title hung up, is forced to inquire of Hamlet, "How call you this play?" eliciting the well-known answer, in which the young prince (not having considered the matter before, amidst thoughts of a far more enthralling character) straightway extemporizes a title. In the prodialogue to *Wily Beguiled* both methods are combined after a somewhat extraordinary fashion. The interlocutors make remarks on the title, in the course of which first the old style of the play (as originally acted) is hung up, namely *Spectrum*, and afterwards the new, or *Wily Beguiled*. The stage directions are "Spectrum, the Prologue:" that is, the title-board is to have *Spectrum* written upon it, and the Prologue is to enter. Then, after he has said a few words, "enter one of the Players," of whom he asks—"What play shall we have here to-night?" The answer is, "Sir, you may look upon the title," to which the Prologue rejoins in disgust, "What, *Spectrum* once again? Why, noble Cerberus, nothing but patch-panel stuff, old gally-mawfries, and cotton-candle eloquence?" After a time "a Juggler" enters, who by a conjuring

trick, "a cast of clean conveyance," as he calls it, conveys away the old title, and "*Wily Beguiled*," say the stage directions, "stands in the place of it."

Ford makes the prologue-speaker announce and comment on the title of his *Witch of Edmonton*. He excuses, or rather justifies, its selection, which, he appears to think, might have been impugned owing to its resemblance to that of another famous and popular play, *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*, which Ben Jonson, in his prologue to *The Devil is an Ass*, calls the audience's "dear delight."

> "The town of Edmonton hath lent the stage
> A Devil and a Witch, both in an age.
> To make comparisons it were uncivil
> Between so even a pair, a Witch and Devil," etc.

But, Master Ford concludes—

> "In acts deserving name, the proverb says,
> 'Once good and ever': why not so in plays?"

A similar apology for the title is to be found in the prologue to *Eastward Hoe*. The authors Jonson, Chapman, and Marston, evidently think that the audience may deem it pointless and inapposite. They hasten to forestall criticism on this head:

> "And for the title, if it seem affected,
> We might as well have called it, God you good even!
> Only that eastward, westwards still exceeds;
> Honour the sun's fair rising, not his setting.
> Nor is our title utterly enforced,
> As by the points we touch at you shall see."

It will be confessed that on the authors' own showing the title seems to have as little to do with the subject of

a play, as many modern titles have to do with the subjects of the novels to which they are affixed.

The proper place, however, for justification and excuse is the epilogue, not the prologue, which should merely announce. Accordingly Dryden waits till the epilogue before entering his defence of the title of *The Assignation*, to which certain squeamish critics had objected, on the ground of its suggestiveness. The poet's pleading is characteristic :

> " Some thought the title of the play to blame ;
> They liked the thing, but yet abhorred the name."

It remains to notice two theatrical institutions of the seventeenth century, one of which, though an important novelty then, has lost its interest now ; while the other reflected an interest which though having no prominence then, has lately been considered of much moment. We allude first to the introduction of women to act female parts in the place of boys, secondly, to the " nurseries," or places for the education of young actors in their art.

The first lady who ventured to defy the prejudices, not only of Puritans like Prynne, but of playgoers generally, and appear upon the stage to perform female characters, was probably Mistress Saunderson, the talented actress, whom the great Betterton afterwards married. She appeared as Desdemona in *Othello;* the year being either 1659 or 1660. It is evident from the excuses and pleas set forth at great length both in the prologue and the epilogue written for the occasion by Thomas Jordan, that the step was regarded by the profession as one of great gravity and danger. Jordan only attempts

to justify it on the ground of absolute necessity. The boys who used to play the female parts, had, he implies, during the long period of inaction necessitated by the Puritan rule (1642–1660), grown up into bearded men totally unfit to assume the characters of gentle heroines, and there were no others forthcoming to supply their place. This famous prologue is called by its author "a prologue to introduce the first woman that came to act on the stage, in the tragedy called *The Moor of Venice*." In the course of it, he appeals, somewhat tremulously, to "the star-chamber of the house, the pit," and says:

> ". . . in this reforming age
> We have intents to civilize the stage.
> Our women are defective, and so sized
> You'd think they were some of the guard disguis'd:
> For, to speak truth, men act, that are between
> Forty and fifty, wenches of fifteen;
> With bone so large, and nerve so incompliant,
> When you call *Desdemona*, enter *Giant*."

The epilogue, dealing with the same subject, appeals to "the ladies," on behalf of the adventurous actress:

> "But ladies what think *you?* for if you tax
> Her freedom with dishonour to your sex,
> She means to act no more, and this shall be
> No other play but her own tragedy."

Similar apologies are offered in the prologue to D'Avenant's second part of *The Siege of Rhodes*, in which also women acted (April, 1662). So winning, however, was the grace and modesty of Mistress Saunderson, that good sense prevailed over prejudice, and we soon find the tables turned, and *young men apologizing* for attempting that which should have been left

to women. In a prologue to a play called *The Royal Arbour*, acted before Charles II., the actors implore his Majesty's indulgence in regard to this mistake, as they avow it to be:

> "For, doubting that we should never play again,
> We have play'd all our women into men:
> They are of such large size for flesh and bones,
> They'll rather be taken for amazons
> Than tender maids . . .
> If this be pardoned, we shall henceforth bring
> Better oblations to my lord the king."

Kynaston, however, for a few years held his own in female parts against his fair rivals; and, that the old custom did not expire all at once at the time of the Restoration, is evident from the story of the excuse which was offered to, and accepted by, the Merry Monarch, when complaining of the tardy commencement of a play—"May it please your Majesty, the queen has not shaved yet."

In a very short time after this, a yet greater novelty was introduced: women began to take *male* parts. In the prologue to Dryden's adaptation of *The Tempest* (1667) we find these lines:

> "But if for Shakespeare we your grace implore
> We for our theatre shall want it more
> Who, by our dearth of youths, are forced to employ
> One of our women to present a boy;
> And that's a transformation, you will say,
> Exceeding all the magic in the play."

In the same dramatist's *Maiden Queen* (1672) *all* the male characters in the play were assumed by women: the prologue is spoken by Mrs. Boutell, "in

man's clothes," and the epilogue by Mrs. Reeves (Dryden's mistress), also "in man's clothes." At a still later period we find Peg Woffington taking such coarse parts as Harry Wildair, and in our own times such rôles as those of Hamlet and Romeo have been assumed by distinguished actresses.

Now, as to the establishments for the use of embryo-actors, "the young men of the stage," as Ravenscroft and Pepys used to call them. These were termed "nurseries," the principal of which was in Golden Lane, near the Barbican. The young men trained in these places were allowed to act in the two great theatres—the Duke's and the King's—when those stages were not required by the regular company, just as morning performances of amateurs are often given at our modern theatres. The Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent were usually set aside for the young aspirants to histrionic fame:* and Ravenscroft did not disdain to write "a Lenten play" for them on one of these occasions,—the much ridiculed *Mamamouchi*, to wit, though he is careful to tell us that it was knocked off *currente calamo*, and that "one week completed it." Perhaps it was the association of this play—the work of a bitter rival—with the nursery in Barbican, which led Dryden in his *Mac Flecknoe*, to ridicule this institution:

> "Where queens are formed and future heroes bred,
> Where unfledg'd actors learn to laugh and cry,
> Where infant punks their tender voices try,
> And little Maximins the gods defy."

* See the epilogue to *The Rival Kings*.

We have already seen how Ben Jonson, when in wrath against the best companies of the players, would resort to the children of the Revels to play his dramas. Bayes is represented in *The Rehearsal*—notwithstanding the sentiments expressed above—as threatening to do something similar, namely, "to bend all his thoughts for the service of the Nursery, and mump the proud players." Pepys's remarks on the Nursery, which he occasionally visited, were usually not very complimentary. On the 24th of February, 1667–8, he writes: "To the Nursery, where none of us ever were before; the house is better and the musick better than we looked for, and the acting not much worse, because I expected as bad as could be: and I was not much mistaken, for it was so. . . . Here was some good company by us, who did make mighty sport at the folly of their acting, which I could not refrain from sometimes, though I was sorry for it." Another Nursery was in Hatton Garden; this latter had the honour of training the redoubtable comedian and wag, Jo Haynes, and was superintended by one Captain Bedford. On the 7th of March, 1668, the aforesaid Samuel was especially pleased at the King's playhouse with a part by "one Haynes, *only lately come thither from the Nursery*, an understanding fellow." *

Leaving now the innocent customs of the theatre, let us come to weightier matters, and see what in-

* Charles II. granted a patent, dated March 3rd, 1664, to William Legge, Groom of the Bedchamber, for setting up a Nursery for young actors. No particular place is named for it in the patent.

formation can be extracted from prologues as to the morals of the stage. One would have thought that not the most indiscreet even of the Restoration playwrights would, in addressing the public through prologue or epilogue, have avowed or dwelt upon the lax morality of the professors of his art in private life. That they should have made some allusion to, and have excused or justified, as the case might be, the licentious tone of their plays, and of the speeches assigned to the characters in them, was natural enough; but this was an entirely different matter from openly exposing to view the follies or vices of actors and actresses off the boards. When Dryden threw the blame of indecent comedies on to the Court ("Whitehall the naked Venus first revealed") and denied that it could attach in any way to the actors or the dramatists; or when Lord Lansdowne (in his prologue to *The Jew of Venice* revived) asserted that neither the one nor the other class, but the great public itself, was responsible;* we feel that such prologues occupy legitimate ground. But

* "The man of zeal, in his religious rage
Would silence poets, and reduce the stage;
The poet, rashly to get clear, retorts
On kings the scandal, and bespatters courts.
Both err; for, without mincing, to be plain,
The guilt's your own of every odious scene;
The present time still gives the stage its mode;
The vices, that you practice, we explode."

An old argument, continually used even now by gentlemen who write "without mincing, to be plain." Tradition, however, has not rendered it one whit less radically bad in the nineteenth, than it was in the seventeenth century.

when the soiled linen of the actor's domestic existence is elaborately, even exultingly, washed in the market-place, to amuse the degraded appetite of a prurient audience, it would demand a taste no nicer than that of a seventeenth-century critic to refrain from crying, "hold, enough!" Yet that most audacious of all prologists—if we may coin a word—John Dryden, did not stick even at this. In the epilogue to *The Assignation*, in which play Hippolita, a nun, is introduced, he concludes by saying:

> "Our poet meant no scandal in his play;
> His nuns are good, which on the stage are shewn,
> And, sure, behind the scenes you'll look for none."

In the epilogue "to the King and Queen" on the occasion of the union of the two companies in 1686, Dryden writes:

> "We beg you, last, our scene-room to forbear,
> And leave our goods and chattels to our care.
> Alas, our women are but washy toys,
> And wholly taken up in stage employs:
> Poor willing tits they are, but yet I doubt,
> This double duty soon will wear them out.
> Then you are watched besides with jealous care;
> What if my lady's page should find you there?"

Similarly the prologue to *Marriage à-la-Mode* speaks by no means highly of "playhouse flesh and blood," or of their ability to withstand the advances of "braves and wits."

Into the mouth of the famous Mistress Bracegirdle, whose alleged chastity has been the subject of very unkind comments on the part of different writers from

Colley Cibber * to Macaulay (the latter of whom not obscurely hints that it was by no means unsaleable, but only saleable at a higher price than that of others) Dryden, in the epilogue to *Cleomenes*, puts the most extraordinary expressions. The lady, delivering the epilogue, is supposed to be making her will, and bequeathing her "movables"—her youth, her chastity, her truth, her judgment, her devotion, and finally her person, as to which she is very frank:

> "I give my person, let me well consider,—
> Faith, ev'n to him that is the highest bidder."

In the epilogue to *King Arthur*, also "spoken by Mrs. Bracegirdle," the actress is represented as pulling out of her pocket, and reading over the various *billets-doux* which she had that day received from "fops and wits and cits and Bow Street beaux"—epistles of the kind which Peg Woffington describes in *Masks and Faces*. In her remarks on these, she is made to exhibit a quaint combination of keen judgment on pecuniary stability with a virtue not absolutely inexpugnable.

From the morality of the dramatic profession to the morality of other classes and professions, and of the public in general, is but a short step, and it is needless to say that the more combative of the prologists, such as Ben Jonson, and particularly Dryden, have much to say on a subject which so temptingly invited their strongest

* Colley Cibber is fairly puzzled—(see his *Apology*). He does not know what to make of a quality so opposed to the tendencies of his age and profession; and with a few dubious suggestions and sniffs, gives up the riddle.

powers of scathing sarcasm or malicious innuendo.* How Dryden rebuked the court, and excused the stage, in the matter of the then prevalent licentiousness of comedy, we have already mentioned. The strongest attack was contained in the last epilogue written by the poet, in the last year of his life (1700), and shortly after that celebrated treatise of Jeremy Collier which elicited his somewhat tardy repentance. It will be seen that the language is as nervous and pointed as ever, and the advocacy as brilliant, though the reasoning is unsound, and the apology sophistical. He begins by a respectful reference to "Jeremy," and one in keeping with his famous recantation; but, at last, his wit runs away with him, and he becomes as combative and as audacious as in his earlier and more militant days:

"Perhaps the parson stretched a point too far
When with our theatres he waged a war.
He tells you that this very moral age
Received the first infection from the stage.
But, sure, a banished court, with lewdness fraught,
The seeds of open vice, returning, brought.
* * * * *
The poets, who must live by courts, or starve,
Were proud so good a government to serve;
* * * * *
Thus did the thriving malady prevail;
The court its head, the poets but the tail."

* In the prologues and epilogues of the Roman comedy, I find only one allusion to social morality. In the epilogue to the *Captivi* of Plautus, the author takes credit to himself for the good moral motive and tone of his play;—"Spectatores, ad pudicos mores facta hæc fabula est." In one other instance, a social question is touched upon, and for thirty-one lines of the prologue to the *Rudens*, a sort of hustings-oration is delivered justifying the policy of the recognition of slave's marriages ("serviles nuptiæ"), and the examples of Carthage, Apulia, and Greece are referred to as precedents.

Waxing bolder, he hints that this brazen-faced licentiousness was the natural result of the outward vigour and inward hypocrisy of the Puritan ascendancy when

> "Nothing but *open* lewdness was a crime,"

and

> "A monarch's blood was venial to the nation,
> Compared with one foul act of fornication."

"Now," he goes on, "they" (that is, the Puritans, and first and foremost, Jeremy Collier, we may presume)

> "Would silence us, and shut the door
> That let in all the bare-faced vice before."

Dryden is not sanguine as to the result of this attempt to moralize the stage, as he avows with cynical candour:

> "As for reforming us, which some pretend,
> That work in England is without an end;
> Well may we change, but we shall never mend."

The poet had not, however, always taken this line. In the prologue to *The Spanish Friar*, at a time when the Stuarts were still in possession of the throne, it does not seem to have occurred to him to make use of the argument, though the dangers to public morality which that argument assumes must have been more recent in 1680 than in 1700. On the contrary, he *there* takes the public to task for the immorality of the stage.* It was

* He complains of a new-grown versatility and inventiveness in vice on the part of the English people *as a whole* and compares it with

not till long after the abdication of James II. that the versatile poet thought an extinct dynasty, which nobody would be interested in defending, might conveniently serve for scapegoat to bear on its head the sins of the stage.

About the same date (1684), another dramatist, Ravenscroft, rates the public for suddenly becoming squeamish, and more than hints that the professed niceness of certain lady-critics is unreal. Having altered his play of *Dame Dobson or the Cunning Woman* (taken from the French), to suit the requirements of the more exacting judges on this score, he thus addresses his audience in the prologue:

> "In you, chaste ladies, then, we hope to-day,
> This is the poet's recantation play.
> Come often to 't that he at length may see
> 'Tis more than a pretended modesty:
> Stick by him now, for if he finds you falter,
> He quickly will his way of writing alter;
> And every play shall send you blushing home,
> For though you rail, yet then we're sure you'll come.
> * * * * *
> A naughty play was never counted dull—
> Nor modest comedy e'er pleased you much." *

---

the corresponding conservatism of the Dutch, the Spanish, and other nations:

> "The heavy Hollanders no vices know
> But what they used a hundred years ago.
> * * * * *
> Their patrimonial sloth the Spaniards keep,
> And Philip first taught Philip how to sleep.
> The French and we still change;" etc.

* See Wright's *History of Caricature*, pp. 402, *sqq.* At a later date (Fielding's time) the prologue-writer learnt to combine sanctimony with subtlety in a more artful manner. One of the prologues of the period

The practice of scolding society generally was not really so bold as it seems; because where everybody is attacked, nobody is attacked. But when the dramatist split up the public into classes, professions, or interests, and singled out some one or more of them for ridicule and vilification, the resentment against the author was proportionate to the smallness of the class, and the facility with which it was possible for others to identify it. Thus, as we have already seen, when Ben Jonson attacked the people generally for not crowding to see his plays, the people remained placid enough; but when he proceeded to gird at lawyers, soldiers and players *seriatim*, these various professions were up in arms immediately, and retained Dekker to advocate their cause, and be their "Satiromastix."

When reproved on this score, it is of course always open to the dramatist to plead, as against the objector, that "the cap fits." Ben Jonson himself again and again resorted to this mode of defence. So, too, William Cartwright (a great favourite of Ben, who called him "my son," after the fashion of the poets of that day), in the prologue to his play, *The Ordinary* (probably written in 1634), modestly says of himself:

> "His conversation will not yet supply
> Follies enough to write a comedy"—

and, therefore, he concludes—

which the author proposes to the manager in the introduction of *Don Quixote in England*, is described as follows: "the first twelve lines inveigh against all indecency on the stage, and the last twenty lines show you what it is."

". . . those will be to blame
Who make that person, which he meant but name."

He disclaims attacks on individuals:

" No guilty line traduceth any; all
We here present is but conjectural."

Richard Brome, in the prologue to his *Antipodes* (acted 1638, printed 1640), accounts it a grievance that

". . . nothing can
Almost be spoken, but some other man
Takes it unto himself, and sayes the stuffe
If it be vicious, or absurd enough,
Was woven upon his back."

So also Dryden complains, in his prologue to Nathaniel Lee's *Cæsar Borgia* that

" Every fool can bid the poet starve"

since

" That fumbling letcher to revenge is bent,
Because he thinks himself or whore, is meant:
Name but a cuckold, all the city swarms;
From Leadenhall to Ludgate is in arms."

Similarly, in the witty prologue which he wrote for Shadwell's *True Widow:*

" Fools you will have, and raised at vast expense;
And yet as soon as seen, they give offence.
Time was, when none would cry,—That oaf was me;
But now you strive about your pedigree.
Bauble and cap no sooner are thrown down,
But there's a muss of more than half the town."

And, in the prologue to *The Assignation:*

" Poets, poor devils, have ne'er your folly shewn,
But, to their cost, you proved it was their own.
* * * * *
Your poets daily split upon this shelf—
You must have fools, yet none will have himself."

In the prologue to *The Pilgrim* he implies that any single living fop does himself far too much honour in supposing that an ideal stage-fop is copied from him: "more goes to make a fop than fops can find."

In time, however, the grumbles of these "cap-fitters" had their effect; and, in 1690, in the prologue to his *Amphitryon*, Dryden complains that genuine satire is being banished from the stage, to find a new home (and here a touch of professional jealousy is perhaps to be detected) with the lampoon-mongers and libel-writers, as it did with the epigrammatists of an earlier day. "What," Mrs. Bracegirdle asks on behalf of the poet—

> "What gain you by not suffering him to tease ye?
> He neither can offend you now, nor please ye.
> The honey bag and venom lay so near,
> That both together you resolve to tear;
> And lost your pleasure, to secure your fear.
> How can he show his manhood if you bind him
> To box, like boys, with one hand tied behind him?
> This is plain levelling of wit; in which
> The poor has all the advantage, not the rich.
> The blockhead stands excused, for wanting sense;
> And wits turn blockheads in their own defence.
> *Yet though the stage's traffic is undone,*
> *Still Julian's interloping trade goes on:*
> *Though satire at the theatre you smother,*
> *Yet, in lampoons, you libel one another.*"

From these same lampoons the poet himself had suffered; and there is little doubt that he smarted more keenly under the lash of Tom Brown, the satirical pamphleteer, than under that of Buckingham, the satirical dramatist; and that the "Mr. Bayes" of the *Reasons*, etc., offended him more than the "Mr. Bayes" of *The*

Rehearsal. The above-mentioned Julian was a notorious lampooner of the coffee-house; and from the words "interloping trade" we may conclude that he sometimes succeeded in amusing where Dryden failed, and drew away the wits from the playhouse to the tavern. Political libels were then more fascinating even than dramas; and in a prologue of 1680 (already cited) Dryden complains of his audiences satisfying their "envious itch" with libels and "city gazettes" or "factious speeches."

However, Dryden was a man who, above all things, moved with the times; and seeing that the people loved political wrangles between Whig and Tory, proceeded to take a side himself, and violently assailed the Whigs and defended the Tories. Politics the people wanted; politics they should have not only in the plays themselves—where the bias was judiciously veiled—but also in prologues and epilogues, where the doses were untempered and undisguised.

Loyalty had, of course, always distinguished the addresses of the "black cloak" to the audience from the earliest times;* and the expressions of this feeling were probably not merely formal and usual, but genuine, considering that the Puritan suppression of plays had taught

* In the prologue, written probably for the second performance of a play (mentioned already)—*The Hog hath lost His Pearl*—any intention of reflecting on the civic authorities is carefully disclaimed, and this was the more necessary as the city magnates of the period were so "sharp-witted" (as Henry Wotton writes to Sir Edward Bacon) that they understood the then Lord Mayor "to be meant by the Hog, and the late Lord Treasurer by the Pearl." On the occasion of the first performance, at which Wotton "assisted," the sheriffs entered and carried off some of the actors, "to perform the last act at Bridewell," as Wotton pleasantly puts it.

actors how intimately their profession was bound up with the fate of the monarchy. Before the execution of Charles I., and after the accession of Elizabeth, we may notice certain graceful customs which tended to exhibit a sentiment of devotion to the throne, such as the old way of terminating the epilogue by offering prayers for the reigning sovereign;* and also we find, of course, the ordinary phrases of deference and devotion freely scattered through the prologues "spoken at court" (as we have already had occasion to observe); but not till the actors had experienced the sharp contrast between the long winter of discontent which set in under the domination of the Puritans, and the "glorious summer" which succeeded it at the Restoration, did they thoroughly appreciate the blessings, for their profession, of monarchy. The expressions of loyalty now became effusive and unrestrained. Charles II., that most unheroic "Nell-Gwynne Defender of the Faith," as Carlyle calls him, is called "godlike Charles;" and Lord Orrery, in the prologue to his *Black Prince* (1667), does not hesitate to claim that "our Charles, not theirs" (sc. of the French, Charlemagne) "deserves the name of Great." And this of a man to whom Killigrew was allowed to sugest that "he" (Killigrew) "should go to hell to fetch Oliver Cromwell back to

* Thus the prose epilogue to *King Henry IV., Part II.*, "spoken by a dancer," concludes thus: "My tongue is weary; when my legs are too, I will bid you good night: and so kneel down before you,—but, indeed, *to pray for the queen.*" In the old Hindoo drama the prologue commenced with a short prayer or benediction. Whether the existing authorities were mentioned in it is not so certain.

govern the kingdom, since his successor did not know how to do it."

After these ebullitions had taken time to waste themselves, the feeling of loyalty to the person of the sovereign took another shape, namely, that of devotion to the king *and the Tory party* or to the king *and the Whig party*, as the case might be. Gradually the king came to be virtually, though by no means nominally, dropped out; and the real contests of the prologists and pamphleteers were between the defenders of the Whigs and the defenders of the Tories, in which latter class we may number Dryden and Dennis, whose expressions of loyalty are always intermingled with denunciations of the disloyalty and perfidy of their opponents.*

It would be a weary task to dilate on the scores of prologues in which the belligerent dramatists, Dryden, Otway, Lee, D'Urfey, Crowne, and Southerne, on the Tory side, and Elkanah Settle and Shadwell (the Og and Doeg of *Absalom and Achitophel*) on the Whig, vented their political spleen.† In these numerous efforts of Dryden against Settle and Shadwell the literary

* See especially *the prologue to the King* (James II.) *and Queen upon the Union of the Two Companies* (the King's and the Duke's) in 1686. It is bursting with loyalty to James, but still more with hatred of the Whigs. It concludes: "Whig poets" (Settle and Shadwell) "and Whig sheriffs may hang together." A Whig sheriff, Henry Cornish, had lately (1680) been hanged, apparently for no other reason than that he was a Whig. See also the prologue to *Amboyna;* directed against the Dutch, and full of bellicose Toryism.

† See Dryden's prologue to *The Duke of Guise*, Shadwell's prologue to *Bury Fair;* also a prologue of Dryden's (to what play is uncertain) in the tenth volume of Sir Walter Scott's edition (p. 353); also the prologue and epilogue which he composed for Southerne's *Loyal Brother*.

jealousy was added to the public rivalry; in fact, I am inclined to think that the former passion in this case determined the latter, and that Dryden's pretence of hating these two poets for being Whigs, was only his way of concealing his hatred of the two Whigs for daring to be poets. It is more probable that the *Pope Joan* of the one, and *The Lancashire Witches* of the other were distasteful to the laureate on the ground of their having taken as plays, than because they offended his Tory principles. His bitterest attack on his two opponents is to be found in his prose *Vindication of the Duke of Guise*, the play thus "vindicated" having a decided application to contemporary political events, which the dullest critic could not fail to perceive; and having, in consequence, drawn on him the wrath of the Whig playwrights,* who are accordingly assailed in the *Vindication* with the perfervid animosity which was so characteristic of its author.

Elkanah Settle had always been a bitter opponent and rival of Dryden, on public, private, and professional grounds. This is the kind of coarse cudgel which "Doeg" wielded in the encounter—(the extract is from the prologue to his *Emperor of Morocco*, acted in 1681–2):

> "Poets we all know can change, like you,
> And are alone to their own interest true;
> Can write against all sense, nay even their own:
> The vehicle called *pension* makes it down.
> *No fear of cudgels*, where there's hope of bread:
> A well-filled paunch forgets *a broken head.*"

* Shadwell, in some verses called *A Lenten Prologue refused by the Players*, and in a work called *Reflections on the pretended parallel in the Play called the Duke of Guise.*

The allusions in the last lines are to Dryden's pension as laureate and histriographer royal (a very small one—£300 a year, and a butt of canary, neither paid in full nor punctually) and to the beating which he received at midnight in the streets by some hired bravos of a nobleman whom he had offended in a literary quarrel. But to accuse such an uncompromising Tory as Dryden * with trimming in politics, however he may have trimmed in other matters, was very unfair, and, if felt at all by the object of the attack, must have been felt as the unkindest cut of all.

With Shadwell, on the other hand, Dryden was at first, and at intervals afterwards, on friendly terms. The quarrel was originally literary, and arose out of the two dramatists' different views on the proper method of writing plays, on the merits of Ben Jonson, and the relative value of plot and "humours" in constructing a drama. Gradually the contest took on a political hue; and "Og" poses as a Whig, laughing, in pamphlets and lampoons, at first, and then in the prologue to his *Bury Fair*, at Dryden's "most confounded loyal plays"—loyal, that is, to the departed majesty of the Stuarts: for it is needless to say that Shadwell would not have used such an expression before the downfall of that line. But with the new *régime* Shadwell reaped his reward, such as it was; and Dryden, sticking to his colours, received his punishment. The latter was deposed from

* One of Dryden's prologues (which I cannot at present lay my hands upon), and also one of his epilogues (that to Nathaniel Lee's *Constantine the Great*), contain long passages directed against "The Trimmer"—(neither fish, flesh, nor good red herring.")

his office as poet-laureate; and Dorset recommended as his successor to the new king William, the man who

> "In prose and verse was own'd without dispute,
> Through all the realm of Nonsense absolute."

In the above-mentioned prologue, "Og" most indecently exults over his prostrate rival, and proclaims his past fidelity through good and evil report—this is the first occasion on which we hear of it—to the cause which, having now triumphed, elicits these jubilant strains. Speaking of the Stuart period, he says:

> "'Twas precious loyalty that was thought fit
> To atone for want of honesty and wit.
> No wonder common sense was all cried down,
> And noise and nonsense swaggered through the town.
> Our author, then oppressed, would have you know it,
> Was silenced for a non-conformist poet;
> In those hard times he bore the utmost test,
> And now he swears he's loyal as the best.
> * * * * *
> He found esteem from those he valued most;
> Proud of his friends, he of his foes could boast."

CHAPTER V.

Prologues and epilogues attacking Puritans—Those attacking Papists and Jesuits—Those attacking the clerical profession generally (Dryden)—"Occasional" prologues: on the retirement of Betterton from the stage; on the production of Dryden's last play; on the union of the King's and the Duke's companies, in 1686; on the first programme of the new Theatre Royal, in 1674—Mention and caricature in dramas of the current styles of prologue and epilogue; as, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The City Match*, *The Malcontent*, etc.—Dryden's prologues and epilogues ridiculed in *The Rehearsal*—The "thunder and lightning" prodialogue of the Poet Bayes—Dryden, the prince of prologists; in him the art culminates, and since his time has been steadily declining—His death and the close of the seventeenth century—Lines originally written for a prologue afterwards developed into a play (*Albion and Albanius*)—Modern French use of the term "prologue" as a preliminary act of the drama—Plays without prologues—George Peele's extraordinary prologue without a play.

HAVING dealt with Dryden's political prologues, we ought next to notice, before passing on, a certain large and important class of prologues which chiefly excited the wrath of Jeremy Collier, as expressed in his great work on the Profanity of the Stage, namely those ridi-

culing the clergy. The manner in which Barebones and Scruple,* and Bird and Mrs. Flowerdew, not to mention other characters in the plays of the period from Shakespeare to Dryden, are introduced upon the stage, constitutes sufficient evidence of the extent to which the godly fraternity of Puritans were continually held up to contempt in the dramas themselves. But this was rather by action and implication; when we come to Dryden it is needless to say that we soon find direct and unmistakable references in prologues and epilogues, not merely to Puritan zeal or hypocrisy, but to the clergy generally, *quâ* clergy. Dryden indeed pretended, as a Roman Catholic, to be aiming more particularly at the Protestant priesthood, but Jeremy Collier on the whole clearly makes out (from a comparison of passages) that the poet aimed at exposing the office itself to contumely, whether Jesuit or Protestant, monk or curate, happened to be the holder of it. It is true that in the prologue to *The Duke of Guise* Dryden directs all the force of his satire against the Protestants—clergy and laity both—who had invented before then the Holy League, which was the subject of the play, and who were now concocting a sort of Solemn League and

* A play scoffing at a certain Nonconformist preacher of this name (see Wright's *History of Caricature*, p. 382), was stopped by the authorities. A prologue (spoken, I believe, by Lacy) to another play subsequently produced, refers to this incident; playing upon the double sense of "hypocrite" (play-actor, ὑποκριτής):

> ". . . with us—no fear
> Scruple's a silenced minister.
> Would'st know the cause? The Brethren snivel and say,
> No one must play the hypocrite but they."

Covenant, with Shaftesbury at its head.* It is true, also, that, in his essay on *The Character of a Good Parson*, he attempted to show that he was not insensible to the capacity, or to the virtues of the clerical profession, if properly exercised. But this was a sketch of an ideal. What Dryden's views of the actual parsons he saw about him were, is sufficiently obvious from the following extracts from two of his epilogues. The first is that written for his son's play, *The Husband His Own Cuckold:*

> "With the parson 'tis another case,
> He, without holiness, may rise to grace."

Again:

> "Dulness well becomes the sable garment;
> I warrant that ne'er spoiled a priest's preferment."

Here the charge is only against the dulness and want of learning characteristic of the order;† but in the other epilogue to which we have referred, namely, that to *The Spanish Friar*, graver charges are adduced, and here, at all events, there can be no question of Papist *v.* Protestant. It was simply a case of bitter and strongly felt, whether well founded or not, distrust and abhorrence of clericalism in every shape. The poet appears to have anticipated that this epilogue would draw down censure upon him, for he describes it as

* He avows this boldly at the opening:

> "Our play's a parallel; the Holy League
> Begot our Covenant; Guisards got the Whig."

† Cf. his prologue to the revival of *Troilus and Cressida:*

> "The insipid stuff which here you hate
> Might somewhere else be called a grave debate;
> Dulness is decent in the Church and State."

written "by a friend of the author's," an absurd disguise, which (the reader will agree after reading the lines) could have deceived no one :

> "How are men cozened still with shows of good?
> The bawd's best mask is the grave friar's hood;
> Though vice no more a clergyman displeases
> Than doctors can be thought to hate diseases.
> 'Tis by your living ill that they live well,
> By your debauches their fat paunches swell.
> 'Tis a mock-war between the priest and devil,
> When they think fit, they can be very civil."

He ends by a stirring appeal to fathers and husbands to follow the example of Sweden and drive the priests out of the land, and ends with the significant couplet :

> "Your wives and daughters soon will leave the cells,
> When they have lost the sound of Aaron's bells."

We can hardly be surprised that such a passage as this excited the wrath of a Milbourne or a Blackmore, or even of a Swift; or, if it moved the expostulation of his own sons, to whom he writes in answer, "For your sakes I will struggle with the plain openness of my nature, and keep in my just resentments against that degenerate order." Still less can we be surprised that his rivals, Settle the dramatist and Tom Brown the pamphleteer, fastened upon him and made capital out of his ostentatious contention with this particular class of men. Least of all can we be astonished to find Jeremy Collier, who was possessed of a stern, robust morality, both in theory and practice (of which Tom Brown and Settle most certainly were not), at once taking up the cudgels and putting his finger on the real motive which animated Dryden, namely, animosity

against clericalism, not of this or that kind, but of *all* kinds. "But, prithee," says Tom Brown, "why so severe always on the priesthood, Mr. Bayes? What have they merited to pull down your indignation? I thought the ridiculing of men of that character on the stage was by this time a topic as much worn out with you as 'love and honour' in the play, or good fulsome flattery in the dedication." Then comes a very bitter insinuation. "But you, I find, still continue your old humour to date from Hegira . . . *or since orders were refused you.*" More dignified is Jeremy Collier's rebuke, administered after a careful review of the various passages in which his order is slighted: "Thus we see how hearty these people are in their ill-will; how they attack religion under every form, and pursue the priesthood through all the subdivisions of opinion. Neither Jews nor Heathens, Turks, Christians, Rome nor Geneva, church nor conventicle, can escape them. They are afraid lest virtue should have any quarters, a disturbed conscience any refuge to retire to, or God worshipped in any place."

And now, to dismiss these keen "encounters of wit," and approach a less disturbed region, it may be of interest, before concluding this chapter, to glance at the kind of prologues known as "occasional" prologues, or addresses to the public framed solely with a view to commemorate some event of importance. In these the quarrelsome humours of dramatists are for the moment put aside, and we breath a purer and more genial air. Foremost amongst such prologues and epilogues are

those spoken at performances given for the benefit of some retiring veteran of the stage. And of these veterans who should be named first, if not the fine old actor who covered the whole period from the Restoration to Queen Anne, Thomas Betterton? He was seventy-four years old when Mrs. Bracegirdle and Mrs. Barry supported him on this occasion in the play of *Love for Love.* The prologue, spoken by his old colleague Mrs. Bracegirdle, and written by Congreve, has never appeared in print, but the touching epilogue composed by Nicholas Rowe has survived and is recorded amongst his other works. Mrs. Barry spoke the lines, supporting Betterton on one side, while Mrs. Bracegirdle stood on the other; and both actresses clasped round the waist the aged partner of many a bygone triumph during the delivery of the following passage:

"So we, to former leagues of friendship true,
Have bid once more our peaceful homes adieu,
To aid old Thomas and to pleasure you.
* * * * *
Time was when this good man no help did lack,
And scorned that any she should hold his back,
But now, so age and frailty have ordained,
By two at once he's forced to be sustained.
You see what failing nature brings man to,
And yet, let none insult; for aught we know,
She may not wear so well with some of you.
Though old, you'll find his strength is not yet passed,
But true as steel, he's metal to the last.
If better he performed in days of yore,
Yet now he gives you all that's in his power;
What can the youngest of you all do more?"

In praise of this hard-working and gifted actor—who had proved his power in every sort of play from Shake-

speare to Congreve—even the homely spirit of Rowe is warmed into eloquence. What a splendid epilogue Dryden could, and doubtless would, have written for this memorable occasion, had he not long since gone over to the majority, in the year 1700, six years before which date he had finally given up writing for the stage, making an eloquent appeal to the man whom he recognized as his successor (Congreve) to "defend from ill" the name of his "departed friend." The last play which Dryden wrote for the English stage, and which, curiously enough, was, like his first, a failure, was acted in 1694. *Love Triumphant* was its name, and not till fifteen years afterwards did Betterton, who spoke the prologue on the occasion of the retirement of the great dramatist, himself make his last exit. It is needless to say that the poeticules exulted over the unfavourable reception which this play encountered at the King's house. One of these congratulates himself that the "minor poets" will be encouraged thereby, and "huffing Dryden vexed to madness." "It was damned," he writes, "by the universal cry of the town, *nemine contradicente* but the conceited poet. He says in his prologue that this is the last the town must expect from him; he had done himself a kindness had he taken his leave before." The prologue, referred to in the above letter, together with the corresponding epilogue, in which the poet takes leave of the stage, had been privately read by him, a few weeks previously, to John Evelyn, who thus records the event in his diary for the 11th January, 1694: "Supped at Mr. Edward Sheldon's, where was Mr. Dryden, the poet,

who now intended to write no more plays, being intent on his translation of Virgil. He read to us his prologue and epilogue to his valedictory play now shortly to be acted." It is significant that the retiring dramatist did not venture to recite any of the passages from "the valedictory play" itself; if he had done so he might have startled the grave and decorous Evelyn. In the ensuing March the play was acted, and in the prologue Dryden clearly announced his intention; and, unlike Ben Jonson, who so often threatened "to leave the loathed stage" without doing so, he was as good as his word, and thus was severed a connection which, even at its best, was never perhaps a happy one. Now for the prologue, in which it will be seen that the poet maintains his old militant and satirical disposition to the last. After comparing himself to a treasurer "laying down his stick," and working out the parallel in some score of lines, he then, as Mrs. Bracegirdle is made to do on another occasion, imagines himself to be bequeathing his effects:

"He dies, at least to us, and to the stage,
And what he has he leaves this noble age.
He leaves you first all plays of his inditing,
The whole estate which he has got by writing.
The beaux may think this nothing but vain praise;
They'll find it something, the testator says;
For half their love is made from scraps of plays.
To his worst foes he leaves his honesty,
That they may thrive upon't as much as he.
He leaves his manners to the roaring boys
Who come in drunk, and fill the house with noise.
He leaves to the dire critics of his wit
His silence and contempt of all they writ.
To Shakespeare's critic he bequeaths the curse
To find his faults, and yet himself make worse." etc.

The somewhat penurious and bitterly disappointed laureate—disappointed with fair promises and small payments, with much patronage and little support—appears prominently in the caustic words, "That they may thrive upon't as much as he." That he was still poor is implied in the "Epistle Dedicatory," prefixed to this "valedictory play," in which he speaks of "this lowness of my fortunes, to which I have voluntarily reduced myself, and of which I have no reason to be ashamed;" and also of having "nothing to boast of but my misfortunes." He is presumably referring here more particularly to the very niggardly practical assistance which he had received from the Stuarts, to whom he had always so loyally adhered—an adherence repaid no otherwise than by the most graceful compliments.

The epilogue to *Love Triumphant*, spoken by Dalinda, one of the characters in the play, has no reference to Dryden's leave-taking, except that contained in the opening couplet, which pleads that—

> "In good manners nothing should be said
> Against this play, because the poet's dead;"

recalling the corresponding lines in the prologue.

Six years after this date, as we have said, came the time for Dryden to retire from a larger stage than that of the King's house. Shortly before, or shortly after, his death—it is not quite certain which—*The Pilgrim* was performed either for his or his son's benefit. Dryden had never severed his connection with the stage so far as to refuse to write complimentary prologues for the "first nights" of young dramatists in whom he

might be interested, or for other special occasions. Accordingly he wrote both the prologue and the epilogue for this adaptation and revival of Fletcher's play, besides also furnishing a Song and Secular Masque. This benefit performance is supposed by Malone to have taken place on the 25th of March, 1700; Dryden died on the ensuing 1st of May; and the play was printed on the 17th of June. But there is no certainty about the first date; and Gildon speaks of the benefit having been for *Dryden's son.* On the other hand, as Malone points out, it is probable that the Secular Masque would have been performed as early in the year as possible. The prologue contains no allusion, direct or indirect, to the circumstances which led to the performance, but is occupied with the attack on Sir Richard Blackmore, the physician ("Quack Maurus")—the author of the *Satire against Wit,* and the poet's assailant in the matter of morals and decency—to which we have made some reference in an earlier chapter. That which prompted Dryden to retort so severely on the doctor, when he had succumbed so humbly to Jeremy Collier, was the obviously personal nature of the attack in the former case. Amongst other offences, "Quack Maurus" had very ungenerously used against the dramatist the confession of poverty which is to be found in his above-quoted prologue taking leave of the stage. In the preface to his epical poem on *King Arthur* Sir Richard Blackmore writes, with a very plain allusion to Dryden, "'Tis a mighty dishonour and reproach to any man, that is capable of being useful to the world in

any liberal or virtuous profession, to lavish out his life and wit in propagating vice and corruption of manners, and in battering from the stage the strongest entrenchments and best works of religion and virtue. Whoever makes this his choice, when the other was in his power, may he go off the stage unpitied, complaining of neglect and poverty, the just punishment of his irreligion and folly." *

Thus, witty, satirical, provocative, belligerent to the last, Dryden passed away with the century, the dominating tastes of which he had so clearly reflected in the dramas which he wrote for it. Colley Cibber was chosen by Sir John Vanbrugh, who adapted *The Pilgrim*, to speak the epilogue; and Dryden himself entrusted the same young actor with the prologue also, as soon as he had heard him recite the former. "Young Master Colley," as he was called, had previously been noticed by Betterton, and thus enjoyed the proud distinction of having been first brought into prominence by the veteran dramatist and the veteran actor of the seventeenth century.

* It was this passage, we cannot help thinking, that furnished the motive for the very bitter lines concluding Dryden's epilogue:

> "Well, let him go—'tis yet too early day
> To get himself a place in farce or play;
> We know not by what name we should arraign him:
> For no one category can contain him.
> A pedant, canting preacher, and a quack
> Are bad enough to break an ass's back.
> At last, grown wanton, he presumed to write,
> Traduced two kings, their kindness to requite;
> One made the Doctor, and one dubbed the Knight."

A somewhat celebrated occasion, for which Dryden at an earlier date wrote both prologue and epilogue, was the union of the two rival companies, the King's and the Duke's (in 1686), which henceforth together formed the only recognized body of "His Majesty's Servants." There was considerable opposition on the part of the King's actors, because the Duke's company undoubtedly obtained very advantageous terms in the reconstruction. To this, however, they were clearly entitled; as, for the last few years, whatever Colley Cibber and Dryden might say, they had been attracting by far the better houses. As early as 1672 there seems to have been some project on foot for amalgamating the two houses, as Dryden makes the epilogue-speaker to *The Maiden Queen*, acted in that year, express a belief and fear that such a fate was threatened.* But not till 1686 did the thunderbolt fall. Up to that time the two houses had been vying with one another in lavish expenditure on scenes, dresses, machines, operas, and the like, with the result that both were reduced to something very like bankruptcy, though the Duke's house was, as we have said, much less involved, and attracted greater audiences than the other. Thereupon the King intervened, and commanded a union; and a strong and stable body of

* "This would prevent the houses joining too,
At which we are as much displeased as you;
For all our women most devoutly swear,
Each would be rather a poor actress here
Than to be made a Mamamouchi there."

The reference in the last line is to a play of Ravenscroft at the Duke's theatre, acted in 1672, *The Citizen turned Gentleman.*

actors was formed out of the remnants of the two old companies.* The prologue alludes rather grumblingly to the situation, and compares the factious and dissatisfied persons, who then were leaving the country for Pennsylvania and Carolina in large numbers, to the rebellious band of younger actors, who, by intriguing against the veterans Hart and Mohun in the King's house, eventually brought about (according to Dryden, and Cibber also) the fall of that theatre and the consequent necessity of its company "leaving their station" and migrating to the "new plantation." He thus works out the parallel between recent political events and the proceedings of the turbulent actors which led to the granting of the fresh patent for one company only:

> "The factious natives never could agree,
> But aiming, as they called it, to be free,
> These playhouse Whigs set up for property.
> Some say, they no obedience paid of late;
> But would new fears and jealousies create,
> Till topsy-turvy they had turned the state.
> Plain sense, without the talent of foretelling,
> Might guess 'twould end in downright knocks and quelling;
> For seldom comes there better of rebelling.
> When men will needlessly their freedom barter
> For lawless power, sometimes they catch a Tartar—
> There's a damned word that rhimes to this, called Charter."

This "Charter" is apparently considered analogous to the fresh patent granted to the united company. In the

* Genest informs us that this year—an important one for the theatrical world—was marked absurdly enough on one occasion by the insertion of an extra line in the short address of the players to the Court in the play-scene of *Hamlet*. The lines then ran:

> "Here stooping to your clemency,
> *This being a year of unity*," etc.

epilogue Dryden seizes the opportunity to state the grievances of those behind the curtain, in respect of what was habitual before it. He complains principally of the noise, drunkenness, quarrels, and disorderly conduct of the audience,* both in the pit among the gallants and the "vizard-masks," and also especially in the galleries, where the lacqueys were allowed to have places for nothing when their lords were visiting the theatre;† and he further animadverts severely on the growing practice among the beaux of visiting the "scene-room" (our "green-room"), and the actresses there assembled. He concludes in a manner thoroughly characteristic of an unbending Tory of the Stuart period:

> "Thus, gentlemen, we have summed up in short
> Our grievances, from country, town, and court;
> Which humbly we submit to your good pleasure;
> But first vote money, then redress at pleasure."

Another interesting occasion, for which a characteristic

* So Terence had bitterly complained (in the prologue to the *Hecyra*) of the unruliness, fickleness, and bad taste of the spectators, who permitted themselves to be lured away from his comedies to the gross entertainments of rope-dancers ("funambuli").

† "Then for your lacqueys . . .
They roar so loud, you'd think behind the stairs
Tom Dove, and all the brotherhood of bears.
They've grown a nuisance, beyond all disasters;
We've none so great but—their unpaying masters.
We beg you, Sirs, to beg your men, that they
Would please to give you leave to hear the play."

Then lacqueys were often told off by the masters to keep places for them. See Dryden's prologue to Carlell's *Arviragus and Philicia*:

> "And, therefore, Messieurs, if you'll do us grace,
> Send lacqueys early to preserve your place."

prologue was written by Dryden, was "the first day of the King's house acting after the fire." In January, 1671–72, the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane was burnt down. While the playhouse was being rebuilt, the King's players acted at the theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields, which had theretofore been used by the Duke's company, but had now been deserted by them for their new and more gorgeous home in Dorset Gardens. Under these circumstances, the prologue is very lugubrious, making special allusion to the harshness of the players' fate in having to put up with the cast-off mansion of their rivals:

> "From that hard climate we must wait for bread,
> Whence even the natives, forced by hunger, fled."

Then, alluding to the restored magnificence of the city since the great fire of 1666, the poet concludes:

> "Our great metropolis does far surpass
> Whate'er is now, and equals all that was;
> Our wit as far does foreign wit excel,
> And, like a king, should in a palace dwell.
> But we with golden hopes are vainly fed,
> Talk high, and entertain you in a shed;
> Your presence here, for which we humbly sue,
> Will grace old theatres and build up new."

The new Theatre Royal, at this time in course of construction, was ready for the players, after their two years' homelessness, on the 26th of March, 1674. Sir Christopher Wren had superintended the erection. The new house was distinguished from D'Avenant's house at Dorset Gardens by the simplicity of its external decorations—a simplicity, we are told, though it is hardly

credible, recommended by Charles II. The emptiness of the coffers of the King's players was, we imagine, a stronger incentive to adopt a modest style of architecture than the counsels of the King himself. But in his prologue written for this occasion, Dryden puts forward his Majesty's commands, as it was only polite to do, by way of excuse for the plainness of the house as contrasted with the grandeur of the Duke's. He takes the opportunity, also, of inveighing against the practice of encumbering plays with over-magnificent embellishments, and feeding the eye to repletion with spectacle while starving the mind with scanty pittances of wit. Poor Dryden felt not unnaturally that in the rivalry between the two houses the longer purse, and not the finer wit, would win; and that by more and more lavish expenditure the Duke's house would ultimately force the King's players into beggary. He thus sums up the situation:

> "They, who are by your favours wealthy made,
> With mighty sums may carry on the trade;
> We, broken bankers, half destroyed by fire,
> With our small stock to humble roofs retire;
> Pity our loss, while you their pomp admire.
> For fame and honour we no longer strive,
> We yield in both, and only beg—to live.
> Unable to support their vast expense,
> Who build and treat with such magnificence,
> That like the ambitious monarchs of the age,
> They give the law to our provincial stage.
> * * * * *
> Yet, if some pride with want may be allowed,
> We in our plainness may be justly proud;
> Our Royal Master willed it should be so;
> Whate'er he's pleased to own can need no show.

* * * * *
'Twere folly now a stately pile to raise,
To build a playhouse, while you throw down plays.
While scenes, machines, and empty operas reign,
And for the pencil you the pen disdain.
* * * * *
Well, please yourselves; but, sure, 'tis understood
That French machines have ne'er done England good.
I would not prophecy our house's fate,
But while vain shows and scenes you overrate,
'Tis to be feared—
That as a fire the former house o'erthrew,
Machines and tempests will destroy the new."

This vigorous and masculine protest against the innovations imported by Davenant and others did not evoke the sympathy which it merited. The public taste had by that time been too far debauched; and the melancholy prophecy contained in the last few lines was verified in 1686, when, after a twelve years' ruinous competition in magnificence with the other house, the King's players were merged into the larger and more powerful company, retaining, indeed, their old name as some sorry consolation, but forfeiting every other mark of individuality.

In the epilogue written to match the above-quoted prologue Dryden makes another distinction between the money and sensuous "shows" of the "other house," and the wit and intellect of the old company. Alluding to the portraits of poets which adorned the Duke's theatre, he says:

"Though in *their* house the poets' heads appear,
We hope we may presume their wits are here,"—

and promises the audience that they shall be relieved

in the new theatre not only from "the frights of ill-paved streets, and long dark winter nights," which were necessary accompaniments of the old house in Lincoln's Inn Fields (separated, as it was then, from the city by a large space unbuilt over), but also from "the worn plays and fustian stuff of rhyme," which, it is implied, were characteristic of the rival theatre in Dorset Gardens.

One other "occasional" prologue, and we have done with this branch of our subject. A year after Dryden's death Grenville presented to the poet's son Charles the profits arising from the "author's night" of his adaptation of *The Merchant of Venice*—for Shakespeare could only be tolerated in that age when adapted, operatized, or otherwise operated upon. On that night a prodialogue was written by one Bevil Higgins, the interlocutors being the ghosts of Shakespeare and Dryden. The impudence of the Shakespeare-tinkers of the period appears from the words put into the mouth of the elder ghost, who is made to say:

> "These scenes in their rough native dress were mine,
> But now improved with nobler lustre shine;
> The first rude sketches Shakespeare's pencil drew,
> But all the shining master-strokes are new."

Truly a confident person this Mr. Bevil Higgins! That he should have penned the lines at all without the smallest idea that he would thereby outrage any one's sense of propriety, or excite any mirth, is a sufficiently damning testimony of the degradation of public taste at the close of the seventeenth century. Dryden's

ghost is made to complain that he had "toiled in vain for an ungenerous age," and adds:

> "They starved me living; nay, denied me fame,
> And scarce, now dead, do justice to my name;
> Would you repent? Be to my ashes kind;
> Indulge the pledges I have left behind." *

We may note, in conclusion, that during the period which we have traversed the prologue and epilogue rapidly came to be considered such an important and interesting part of the evening's, or rather afternoon's, entertainment, and on many occasions, especially in the hands of Dryden, so stood out by themselves as things to be remembered for their wit, their audacity, or their allusions, and for the person by whom, or the manner in which, they were delivered; that in the various plays ridiculing contemporary dramas and dramatists, we often find independent references to them, in the way

* The recipient of this benefit, Charles Dryden, was drowned three years afterwards (August, 1704), in attempting to swim across the Thames at Datchet. We may mention here that prologues introducing ghosts of defunct dramatists were not at all uncommon during the Restoration period. Thus the Duke of Buckingham evokes the ghost of his favourite Ben Jonson to rebuke the age of his degenerate successors; for a similar purpose Dryden summons Shakespeare's ghost to speak the prologue to his adaptation of *Troilus and Cressida* (Ben Jonson, with his humours, he left Shadwell to lavish admiration upon). In this case the deferential language of the preliminary address hardly compensates for the wrong done to Shakespeare's memory by the villainous character of the adaptation itself. We have also a class of prologues prefixed to revivals of plays, wherein comparisons were likely to be drawn between the then enactors of the principal parts and those who had preceded them; such as the prologue to the 1641 revival of *Bussy d'Ambois* (Chapman's play), where Hart is pointed out as a worthy successor to Field in the title-rôle; and also that to *A Very Woman* (by Massinger), and those (above-mentioned) which contain allusions to wagers.

of parody or caricature. Thus in the little three-line prologue to the play-scene in *Hamlet* we get perhaps a parody of the very curt style of address which was usual when a "dumb show" was to follow, short both in the number and the length of the lines employed. Still more unmistakably are the peculiarities of the simpler sort of players in this matter pointed at in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (Act iii., sc. 1), where Bottom and Quince discuss the question whether their prologue to the play to be performed before Theseus shall be "in eight and six" (that is, in alternate lines of eight and six syllables each), or in "eight and eight." The old and ingenuous prologue which let out confidentially the whole plot of the play is amusingly portrayed in the following dialogue between the mechanics (we may here compare Hamlet's remark in the play-scene: "The players cannot keep counsel, *they'll tell all*):

"*Bottom.* There are things in this comedy of *Pyramus and Thisby* that will never please. First, Pyramus must draw a sword to kill himself, which the ladies cannot abide. How answer you that?

Snout. By'rlakin, a parlous fear.

* * * * *

Bot. . . . I have a device to make all well. Write me a prologue: and let the prologue seem to say, we will do no harm with our swords; and that Pyramus is not killed indeed: and, for the more better assurance, tell them, that I Pyramus am not Pyramus, but Bottom the weaver. This will put them out of fear.

Quince. Well, we will have such a prologue; . . .

* * * * *

Snout. Will not the ladies be afeard of the lion?

Starveling. I fear it, I promise you.

* * * * *

Snout. Therefore, another prologue must tell he is not a lion."

The simplicity with which these honest men went about their work, their efforts to make everything clear to their courtly audience, and their genuine anxiety lest their histrionic power and realistic acting should "fright the ladies," are admirably brought out by Shakespeare in this scene. The actual performance before the Court, of which the above was a rehearsal, takes place in Act v., sc. 1. It appears that Bottom and his fellows had reconsidered the "eight and eight" project, perhaps after taking counsel of some clerkly person about the Court, and had finally determined on the orthodox "ten and ten." To this measure the prologue, as delivered, strictly adheres; and, though the matter is not much, the form and the intention are excellent. The address, ushered in by the full triple flourish of trumpets, concludes by introducing the "dumb show" in the then usual style:

> "The actors are at hand; and by their show,
> You shall know all that you are like to know."

But there was an amusing incident in the delivery of this prologue, which the good Bottom had not foreseen. The speaker, in his nervousness, misplaces all the stops in the most ridiculous manner, therein proving himself not unlike those "great clerks" previously mentioned by Theseus, who "make periods in the midst of sentences," and "throttle their practis'd accent in their fears." After the prologue is over Theseus remarks, "This fellow doth not stand upon points." To which Lysander rejoins, "he hath rid his prologue like a rough colt; he knows not the stop. A good moral, my lord:

it is not enough to speak, but to speak true"—a moral which several "great clerks" of the present day, on the stage and elsewhere, might with advantage take to heart. Next comes the "dumb show," to which the Prologue acts as "Presenter," and explains in the most ingenuous manner who all the characters are, and what they are about to enact; so fully, indeed, that there seems no need of further dialogue, or of a play at all, which, however, the players go through with, valiantly killing off every character in the proper mode; so that Theseus when asked by Bottom whether he will have an epilogue or a Bergomask dance to wind up with, pronounces decisively for the latter. "No epilogue, I pray you; for your play needs no excuse. Never excuse; for when the players are all dead, there need none to be blamed . . . come, your Bergomask: let your epilogue alone."

We get, in this latter scene, a capital picture of the manner in which prologues were delivered by unskilled actors; and many casual references, eloquent of Shakespeare's practical experiences in this matter at the Globe or the Blackfriars, are scattered up and down his plays. Reminiscences, we may imagine, of many a *mauvais quart d'heure* in the representation of some of his own plays, when the "black cloak" may have come on after the three soundings, "out" in his words, unprepared, and nervous, suggested that allusion in *Romeo and Juliet* (Act i., sc. 4) to a "without-book prologue, faintly spoke after the prompter." Similarly the traditional grave demeanour of the prologue-speaker is hinted at, perhaps

ridiculed, in Mayne's *City Match* (Act v., sc. 2), where Warehouse promises Dorcas that she "shall have her usher to slaik before her, like a buskin'd Prologue, in a stately, high, majestic motion."

The above-mentioned practice of the prologue ushering in one or more dumb shows, so that between them there was not much matter left for the play itself, seems to be burlesqued in a little play-scene, which forms an episode in Middleton's drama, *A Mad World, My Masters* (Act v.). There Folly-Wit, who, as directed, "enters for a Prologue," concludes his address thus:

> "The play, which we present, no fault shall meet
> But one, you'll say 'tis short, we'll say 'tis sweet:
> 'Tis given much to dumb shows, which some praise;
> And, like the term, delights much in delays.
> So to conclude, and give the name her due,
> The play being called the Slip, I vanish too."

At the end of the induction to *The Malcontent*, the stereotyped airs and attitudes then considered proper for the delivery of a prologue, are ridiculed. "Come, cuz," says Sly to Lowin, "have you never a prologue?" And he adds, "let me see, I will make one extempore; come to them, and fencing of a congey with arms and legs, be round with them." Then he delivers a few prose lines, palpably intended for a burlesque on the prose epilogue to *As You Like It*.

Even the prince of prologue-writers, John Dryden himself, did not escape the irreverent hand of burlesque. The Duke of Buckingham and his *collaborateurs*, in *The Rehearsal*, attacked the prologues, as they attacked

everything else, issuing from the pen of their principal victim. We have already referred to some of the passages in which Poet Bayes is made to explain the principles by which he was usually guided in composing his masterpieces in this line. Besides these, however, there is a passage at the end of the first act, in which specific types of Dryden-prologues are more exactly parodied. Here Bayes tells Smith and Johnson that he has two prologues for his play, to be delivered one after the other (a not uncommon practice with Dryden, as I have already pointed out), the first of them being (to use his own words), "That I come out in a long black veil, and a great huge hangman behind me, with a furr'd cap, and his sword drawn; and there tell them plainly, that if, out of good nature, they will not like my play, 'egad, I'll e'en kneel down, and he shall cut my head off." This is an obvious burlesque on the poet's numerous character prologues. The prologue which was to succeed this is intended to parody another very common type of Drydenian prologue, namely that which we have christened the prodialogue. Thus does Bayes expound its merits: "Though there have been many witty prologues of late, yet I think you will say this is a *non pareillo:* I'm sure nobody has hit upon it yet. For here, sir, I make my prologue to be a dialogue; and as, in my first, you see I strive to oblige my auditors by civility, by good nature, good language, and all that; so, in this, by the other way, *in terrorem*, I chuse for the persons Thunder and Lightning. . . . Come out, Thunder and Lightning." Then "Thunder and Lightning enter," and we have

surely the most funny and pronounced prodialogue ever penned:

Thunder. I am the bold Thunder.

Bayes. Mr. Cartwright, prythee, speak that a little louder, and with a hoarse voice. I am the bold Thunder. Pshaw! Speak it in a voice that thunders it out indeed. I am the bold Thunder.

Thun. I am the bold Thunder.

Lightning. The brisk Lightning, I.

Bayes. Nay, but you must be quick and nimble. The brisk Lightning, I. That's my meaning.

Thun. I am the bravest Hector of the sky.

Light. And I, fair Helen, that made Hector die.

Thun. I strike men down.

Light. I fire the town.

Thun. Let critics take heed how they grumble,
For then I begin for to rumble.

Light. Let the ladies allow us their graces,
Or I'll blast all the paint on their faces,
And dry up their Peter to soot.

Thun. Let the critics look to't.

Light. Let the ladies look to't.

Thun. For Thunder will do't.

Light. For Lightning will shoot.

Thun. I'll give you dash for dash.

Light. I'll give you flash for flash.
Gallants, I'll singe your feather.

Thun. I'll thunder you together.

Both. Look to't, look to't; we'll do't, we'll do't; look to't, we'll do't. (*Twice or thrice repeated*).

Nearly every peculiarity of Dryden, as manifested in his prologues, is most happily though broadly parodied here. His bellicose attitude towards the critics, his habit of throwing himself at the mercy of the ladies, and his love of smart dialogue and startling effects, all find a place here. No wonder that, when Bayes tells Smith with mock-modesty that "'Tis but a flash of a prologue: a droll," Smith replies, "Yes, 'tis short, indeed; *but very terrible.*"

It will have been noticed that the materials for a study of the English Prologue and Epilogue, during the period which we have selected, have been principally derived from the writings of John Dryden. And the reason is obvious. As Dryden was the last, so he was incomparably the best prologue-writer of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As he was the most voluminous, so was he the neatest and most precise of all who worked in this field. His prologues and epilogues have been better preserved than those of any other dramatist from the time of Shakespeare; and—rare coincidence! —they have been better worth preserving. The large extent of ground which they covered, and of contemporary life which they illustrated—valuable as these are to the general historian as well as to the stage-chronicler—have been more than equalled by the matchless pellucidity and terseness of the couplets in which the poet's thought was expressed. In point of clear-cut form, Pope himself in his happiest moments could not rival one of Dryden's best prologues. Nothing can be neater or more brilliant than the parallels, metaphors, and comparisons with which these addresses to the audience are studded. In longer effusions—in heroic poems, and still more in heroic plays—Dryden's genius may appear diluted; but in these brief masterpieces, where circumstances compelled him to concentrate himself, he is inimitable. It is natural that among the curious parallels employed (some of which have already been noticed) Dryden should have occasionally illustrated his views of the proper function and nature of the things he was

writing by judicious metaphors. Thus in the prologue to *The Mistakes*, Mr. Bright begins by saying: "Gentlemen, we must beg your pardon; here's no prologue to be had to-day. Our new play is like to come on *without a frontispiece, as bold as one of you young beaux without your periwig.*" And not only to a periwig does Dryden liken the prologue (as Chetwood compares an author without a preface to a gentleman at an evening party without full dress), but also to the first charge in a military assault,* and, again, to a peal of church bells ringing for service. The last parallel comes oddly from anti-clerical John, but it is needless to say that the poet manages to screw out of it a neat little scoff at the parson. It is to be found at the beginning of the prologue to *The Assignation:*

> "Prologues, like bells to churches, toll you in
> With chiming verse till the dull plays begin;
> With this sad difference, though, of pit and pew,
> You damn the poet, but the priest damns you.†

Similarly the epilogue is elsewhere compared to the benediction at the close of the service, with a similar satirical *sensus subanditus.* In the commencement of

* Prologue to *The Rival Ladies.* The passage has been quoted above. See also the first prologue to *The Maiden Queen*, which, after comparing plays to towns, besieged by the ignoble army of critics, and exposed to their "skilful fury," concludes:

> "Ours" (sc. our poet) . . . "humbly would attend your doom,
> If, soldierlike, he may have terms to come,
> With flying colours and with beat of drum."

† In the epilogue to his son's *The Husband His Own Cuckold*, Dryden gives us companion portraits of a "raw sophister mounting a pulpit," and a young poet facing a pit for the first time.

the epilogue to Dryden's version of *The Tempest* we read:

> "As country vicars when the sermon's done,
> Run headlong to the Benediction,
> Well knowing, though the better sort may stay,
> The vulgar rout will stay unblest away;
> So we, when once our play is done, make haste
> With a short epilogue to close your taste.

Rosalind (epilogue to *As You Like It*) likens, in a quaint conceit, the prologue and epilogue to a married couple, or, at any rate, appear to regard the epilogue as the feminine of the genus of which the prologue is the masculine.

Prologue-writing as an art culminated in Dryden, and with him it expired. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the efforts of dramatists in this direction—notwithstanding an occasional happy prologue from Garrick or Fielding—became feebler and heavier. Less pains were taken with them, because the audiences grew less interested; and the audiences grew less interested because less pains were taken with them. But, while Dryden was dictator of wit, an elegant prologue pointed and polished to the utmost nicety, and smacking of *demorsi ungues*, would of itself, like an advanced guard, take the public by storm, and win admittance for the play. Dryden himself attributes to others that which could occasionally be laid at his own door—the wasting of "poetic rage" on this "first charge"—where so much wit was spent on the prologue that there was none left for the drama. So full

of matter, indeed, were this poet's prologues that in one case he enlarged one of these preludes into a substantial play, or rather, perhaps, opera; erecting what was originally intended to be a mere provocative of appetite into a *pièce de resistance.* We allude to *Albion and Albanius*, the genesis of which play is thus described by its author, in the preface:

"I am now to acquaint my reader with somewhat more particular concerning this opera, after having begged his pardon for so long a preface to so short a work. It was originally intended only for a prologue to a play of the nature of *The Tempest* . . . But some intervening accidents having hitherto deferred the performance of the main design, I proposed to the actors to turn the intended prologue into an entertainment by itself, as you now see it, by adding two acts more to what I had already written."

This development of a genuine prologue into an act of a drama is curiously paralleled by the modern French practice (now being introduced into England) of calling the first or introductory act of a play a prologue, and by this means sometimes extending the length of the performance an act beyond the limits assigned by tradition. And this again reminds us of the old Euripidean explanatory πρόλογος, to which we alluded in our first chapter, and which was always, of course, an integral portion of the play, and not a mere detached prefix; and it also furnishes an example of how often new fashions reproduce the old. Plays are now nearly always without prologues, except in the modern sense of the word just pointed out, and perhaps it is more consonant with our present habits that they should be so. "A good play needs no epilogue," says Rosalind in *As You Like It;* and we may add that good plays, now at

any rate, need no prologue. Plays without prologues, therefore, may always reasonably, and without any contradiction in terms, exist; but this can hardly be said of a prologue without a play, such as we read of in *The Merrie Conceited Jests of George Peele, gentleman, sometimes student in Oxford. Wherein is shewed the course of his life, how he lived; a man very much known in the City of London and elsewhere.* With this story of the mad, impecunious, quick-witted Elizabethan dramatist—"The Jest of George Peele at Bristow," as it is called in the book—a jest by which he probably became "very much known" and also very much "wanted" in that town—we will come to a conclusion.

George Peele, it appears, stayed on one occasion at Bristow, as he had stayed at other places before, "somewhat longer than his coine would last him." While he was in these straits "it so fortuned that certaine Players came to the Towne, and lay at that Inne where George Peele was." The out-at-elbows playwright then bethought him of this stratagem to get back his horse, which the innkeeper had the right of detaining in the stable for his unpaid charges, and put "money in his purse" to pay his way up to London. "He goes directly to the Mayor, tells him he was a Scholar and a Gentleman," then craftily extols the town of Bristow, recounts to the mayor how it was founded, and all about that dignitary's predecessors in the chair; and, having made him swell with importance, asks him to grace with his presence the assembly which would meet to hear his (Peele's) play called *The History of the Knight of the*

Roads. (Was this the same as *The Battle of Alcazar* by Peele, and was the Knight of the Roads the Stukeley of the latter?) The mayor replies to this that he will do everything he can for him, and meanwhile gives him an angel, "which George thankfully receives, and about his businesse he goes, got his Stage made, his History cried, and hired the Players' apparell, to flourish out his Show, promising to pay them liberally, and withall desired that they would favour him so much as to gather him his money at the doore (for he thought it was his best course to employ them, lest they should spy out his knavery, for they have perillous heads). They willingly yeeld to do him any kindnesse that lies in them; in briefe, carry their apparell to the Hall, place themselves at the doore, where George in the meantime with the ten shillings he had of the Mayor delivered his horse out of Purgatory, and carries him to the townes end, and there placeth him to be in readiness at his coming. By this time the Audience were come, and so forty shillings gathered, which money George put in his purse, and putting on one of the Players silk Robes, after the trumpet had sounded thrice, out he comes, makes obeysance, goes forward with his Prologue, which was this:

> "A trifling Toy, a jest of no account, pardie
> The Knight perhaps you think for to be I.
> Think on so still; for why you know that thought is free;
> Sit still awhile, I'll send the Actors to yee."

Which being said, after some fire workes that he had made of purpose, threw out among them, and downe

staires goes he, gets to his horse, and so with fortie shillings to London, and leaves the Players to answer it, who, when the Jest was known, their innocence excused them, being as well gulled as the Mayor and the Audience."

THE END.

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